Understanding and Explaining Deviant Autocracies:

The Cases of Hong Kong and Singapore

by

Sai-fu Fung

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Politics and International Studies

University of Warwick, Department of Politics and International Studies

September 2016

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to my supervisors, Dr Renske Doorenspleet and Dr Lena Rethel, for their guidance in nurturing my intellectual, academic and personal development. Words can hardly express my gratitude to them. Dr Doorenspleet deepened my understanding of research methodologies, quantitative analysis and the theories of democratisation. With her expertise on Asia and qualitative methods, Dr Rethel guided me in developing the arguments in this thesis. I would like to offer my heartfelt thanks to both for their patience, toleration of my mistakes and support during my PhD studies.

I am also grateful to Prof Mathew Watson, Dr Iain Pirie and Dr Vicki Squire for encouraging me academically during my first year of PhD studies, while giving me critical feedback.

Special thanks go to my former undergraduate and postgraduate teachers for inspiring my intellectual development, including Dr Elaine Chan, Dr Kam Yee Law, Dr Kenneth Ka Lok Chan, Dr Kwan Kwok Leung, Dr Ming Sing, Dr Miranda Alison, Dr Ngok Ma, Dr Nicole Jackson, Dr Peter Ferdinand, Dr Vivienne Wee, Prof Catherine Chiu, Prof Daniel A. Bell, Prof Garry Rodan, Prof Graeme Lang, Prof Kevin Hewison, Prof Susan Hurley, Prof Xiaowei Zang and Prof Zig Layton-Henry.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the staff of the National Archives, London for their professional support in facilitating my data collection process. I managed to collect essential materials that were originally on hold or not available to the public. The staff made special arrangements for me to collect all of the relevant materials for my case studies.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the various administrative units within the University of Warwick for facilitating my PhD training. The general office of PAiS, especially Mrs Kay Edsall, deserves special thanks for providing excellent administrative support during my PhD project. I also very much appreciate the support

and excellent hospitality of the staff at Warwick Accommodation in Sherborne and the Warwick Conferences in Scarman, Radcliffe and Arden.

Thanks further go to the other PhD candidates within PAiS for their academic and emotional support, and to my friends in the University of Warwick Trampoline Club for organising wonderful training sessions, social events and competitions that enriched my life on campus.

Last but not least, I am grateful to my family members for providing emotional support over the past few years. Without their unconditional encouragement, it would have been difficult to complete my PhD project.

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to understand and explain 'deviant autocracies', which are an overlooked and under-researched theme in the democratisation literature. Two major approaches, i.e. structural and process-driven explanations, have dominated the debate on and studies of democratisation. However, over the past few decades, there have been an increasing number of cases that have not made the transition to democracy. These cases, which I refer to as 'deviant autocracies', are the primary focus of this thesis. Deviant autocracies are countries that have a high level of economic development but are still governed by non-democratic regimes. Based on a large-N analysis of a dataset from 1960 to 2011, this thesis shows that since the 1970s, increasing numbers of high income countries have not made the transition to democracy. To understand the emergence and consolidation of deviant autocracies, an analytical framework, the neo actor-based approach, is developed. This approach synergies with the lens of existing actor-based approach, elite theory, models of the elite bargaining process and the elite-structure paradigm to examine the interactions of international actors, local elites and state capacity. Based on this analytical framework, two small-N case studies were conducted to examine the identified deviant autocracies, Singapore and Hong Kong, to understand why they have not made the transition to democracy. At the analytical level, this thesis aims to offer an explanation of the non-transition of deviant autocracies based on a middle-range theory that focuses on elite interactions during the transitional period. At the empirical level, it contributes to our empirical knowledge of why Hong Kong and Singapore have not made the transition to democracy despite favourable circumstances and structural factors. By focusing on understanding why these cases remain stable deviant autocracies, I hope to open up a new research agenda for scholars of democratisation.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In recent years, pro-democracy protests and movements have occurred frequently in high-income autocratic countries. In 2014, an unprecedented 79-day series of protests and incidents of civil disobedience, collectively known as the Umbrella Movement, was launched by students, scholars and politicians in Hong Kong in a call for democratisation. Singapore's autocratic ruling elites have also suffered significant setbacks in recent general elections. In 2011, the opposition party, the Workers' Party, won the first Group Representation Constituency (GRC) in Singapore's history. In the 2015 general election, the Workers' Party candidates were re-elected in the Aljunied GRC. Due in part to Singapore's highly gerrymandered electoral laws, members of the People's Action Party (PAP) held all parliamentary seats from 1968 to 1980 and more than 95% of the available seats from 1984 to 2010 (see Elections Department Singapore 2015). The increasing popularity of the opposition party not only reflects voters' dissatisfaction with the performance of the PAP, but indicates a growing demand for democracy in Singapore.

The above cases of Hong Kong and Singapore are idiosyncratic. High-income countries generally exhibit fairly democratic forms of government. An ongoing struggle for democratisation is very uncommon among countries with a high level of socio-economic development (see Chapters 2 and 3). The existence of those deviant cases, or 'deviant autocracies', creates an interesting research puzzle for scholars of democratisation and comparative politics. The aim of this thesis is to understand and explain deviant autocracies, which have been overlooked and under-researched in the literature on democratisation so far.

Two major approaches have dominated scholarly and other debate on democratisation: a structural approach and a process-driven approach (see Doorenspleet 2004: 310; Hadiz 2009; Kitschelt 1992; Posusney 2004: 128; Zhang 1994: 110). Structural explanations have been prevalent in studies of democratisation for more than half a century (see Barro 1996; Bearce and Hutnick 2011; Boix 2011; Boix and Stokes 2003; Bollen and Jackman 1985, 1990; Colaresi and Thompson 2003;

Cutright 1963; Doorenspleet 1997, 2004; Epstein, Bates, Goldstone, Kristensen and O'Halloran 2006; Haggard and Kaufman 1995, 1997, 2012; Huber et al. 1993; Jensen and Shaaning 2012; Lipset 1959, 1960, 1994; Lipset et al. 1993; Moore 1966; Narayan, Narayan and Smyth 2010; Ravich 2000; Rueschemeyer et al. 1992; Papaioannou and Siourounis 2008; Przeworski and Limongi 1993; Rost and Booth 2008; Rowen 1995; Smith 1969; Teorell 2010). Proponents of the structural approach use key structural variables, especially level of economic development, to explain the transition to democracy and democratic consolidation; methodologically, this approach is usually based on cross-national statistical analysis. Meanwhile, researchers adopting the process-driven approach place less emphasis on structural factors, instead focusing on transition processes and strategies of specific political actors. For example, scholars have investigated the influence of the interaction of rulers, military bodies and democrats on the choice of mode of transition, which is critical to the stability of the resulting system, or in other words to democratic consolidation (see Burton and Higley 1987; Friedheim 1993; Hawkins 2001:441; Higley and Burton 1998, 2006; Karl 1990, 2005; Karl and Schmitter 1991, 1995; O'Donnell 2002; O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986; O'Donnell, Schmitter and Whitehead 1986a; O'Donnell, Schmitter and Whitehead 1986b; O'Donnell, Schmitter and Whitehead 1986c; Petsinis 2010; Rustow 1970; Schmitter 2010; Schmitter and Karl 1994). In Chapter 2, these approaches are described in more depth in relation to the debate on democratisation.

The common aim of the structural and process-driven approaches on democratisation is to determine why and how countries made a transition to democracy and pursue democratic consolidation. One of the central claims made by proponents of the structural approach is that a country makes a transition to democracy, once a certain socio-economic threshold has been crossed. However, this raises the following intriguing question: why do some countries fail to complete this trajectory? Over the last few decades, a number of countries have made significant socio-economic advances, especially in terms of gross domestic product per capita, without transitioning to democracy. These cases, which I will call 'deviant autocracies', are the central focus of my study.

In light of the above question regarding the emergence of deviant autocracies, the structural approach seems to be rather overdetermined while the actor-oreiented approach is underdetermined. Contrary to the prediction delivered by the structural approach, the number of deviant autocracies worldwide has increased rapidly in recent decades, as shown in Chapter 3. Meanwhile, the focus of the actor-based approach is the interaction of a small number of internal elites, which is used to explain the success of countries' transition to democracy and the stability of political regimes in the aftermath of transition. Additional critical lenses and examination of more actors are required to understand deviant autocracies (see Chapter 4).

In Chapter 3, based on a large-N statistical analysis covering 167 countries from 1960 to 2011, I select outliers from a structural perspective, identified as deviant autocracies. In the rest of the thesis, I focus on two cases of deviant autocracy in Asia: the political regimes of Singapore and Hong Kong. The aim of the thesis is to understand and explain why these cases have failed to make a transition to democracy despite their high levels of socio-economic development. I argue that the reasons for this failure lie in the ways in which independence was enacted, and thus focus on the periods surrounding their attainment of independence (Singapore) and transfer of sovereignty (Hong Kong). In each case, bargaining between international actors and local elites is shown to have had an important effect on political development in the uncertain transitional period.

It may be argued that as Hong Kong is not a sovereign state, it should not be included in research on democratisation. However, recent studies have suggested that sovereignty and democracy are not mutually exclusive, as democratic transitions can take place in the absence of sovereignty (see Tansey 2010; Voller 2015). In other words, both Singapore, as a sovereign state, and Hong Kong, with a high degree of autonomy under the sovereignty of China, are able to determine their own forms of government. [1] Democratic and opposition parties in both countries can use

[1] Hong Kong, with its 'mini-constitution', the Basic Law, is a de jure political entity that enjoys a high degree of autonomy and exhibits a political structure distinct from that of mainland China, under the framework of 'one country, two systems'. In addition, Articles 45 and 68 of the Basic Law stipulate that Chief Executive and Legislative Council members should ultimately be elected by universal suffrage and in accordance with democratic procedures.

institutional and non-institutional mechanisms to change the existing political system. In a later part of this chapter, I will justify the use of a small-N case selection method.

The study of outliers is not a new research domain in democratisation studies. The first type of outliers, the group of deviant democracies has been vividly discussed in recent literature (see Booth 2008; Doorenspleet 2012; Doorenspleet and Kopecký 2008; Doorenspleet and Mudde 2008; Fritz 2008; Gisselquist 2008; Good and Taylor 2008; McMillan 2008; Seeberg 2010b, 2012, 2014a, 2014b). However, this type of research is still very recent and there is still a lot of work to be done in this field, and still a lack of studies and knowledge (see Chapter 2). The second type of outliers, the groups of deviant autocracies, deserves much more attention from theorists of democratisation (see Doorenspleet 2012: 202; Seeberg 2012: 29, 2014b: 648). Several attempts have been made to explain the failure of highly economically developed countries to transition to democracy using factors derived from structural or process-driven studies, such as the electoral system, government performance, the colonial legacy and business hegemony (see Sing 1996, 2004; So 2000; and Myhre 2010). However, these studies have usually investigated a single case and provided thick descriptions of factors that may delay the transition to democracy. The results of my large-N quantitative analysis, reported in Chapter 3, show that the number of deviant autocracies has increased over the last few decades. To understand this type of outlier, a more comprehensive analytical model supplemented by carefully designed small-N analysis is necessary. To this end, I develop a theoretical model in Chapter 4 and empirically apply this model with process tracing to case studies of deviant autocracy in Singapore (Chapter 5) and Hong Kong (Chapter 6). The data analysed are drawn from recently declassified internal government archival documents, the memoirs of major ruling elites and secondary sources.

Argument in Brief

To overcome some of the limitations of existing scholarly approaches to democratisation, I will develop a neo actor-based approach in Chapter 4 to examine deviant autocracies in Asia. The middle-range theoretical framework is inspired by previous researchers' process-driven explanations of democratisation with insights from elite theory (Bermeo 2010; Burton et al. 1992; Burton and Higley 1987; Etzioni-Halevy 1993; Greenwood 2008; Higley and Burton 1998, 2006; Mosca 1939; Pareto 1963 [1935]; O'Shaughnessy and Dodson 1999; Prewitt and Stone 1973; Singh 2016), models of the elite bargaining process (Case 1996, 2005, 2009b; Croissant 2014; Jayasuriya and Rodan 2007; Silva 1996; Sklair 2002; Thompson 2012; Tolstrup 2013) and elite-structure paradigms (Alexander 2008; Levitsky and Way 2002b, 2013; Lundquist 1987). To shed light on the genesis and consolidation of the deviant autocracies of Singapore and Hong Kong, I develop a neo actor-based analytical framework to analyse the interplay between international actors, domestic actors and state capacity in each region over time, with a particular focus on transitional periods involving decolonisation and a movement towards independence/transfer of sovereignty.

The findings of this thesis show that three major factors explain why the two deviant autocracies under study have remained nondemocratic. First, international actors bargained with each other to shape the political institutions of the two transitional regions, influenced by both the imperative of decolonisation and the Cold War mentality. The resulting lack of democratic institutions weakened state capacity. In both cases, the institutional political framework was designed to discourage opposition parties from taking power via elections. In addition, constitutional provisions were made to limit the capacity of oppositional parties to change the institutional framework. Finally, local business and professional elites seized the opportunity to advance their own interests during the international bargaining in the transitional period. Unlike Western educated middle classes, who are conventionally understood to support democratic development, elites in the deviant autocracies of Singapore and Hong Kong sought to empower themselves and consolidate their own

influence through nondemocratic means during the uncertain transitional period. In both cases, the resulting political system was dominated by nondemocratic, self-interested business and professional elites.

This thesis contributes to the existing literature on democratisation by setting a new research agenda for scholars interested in democratic transition versus non-transition and deviant autocracy in Asia. As previously noted, several excellent qualitative single case studies have already focused on such outliers; however, I will not only compare case studies, but will also propose a new theoretical framework for analysis of the absence of democratic transition. As will become clear in my thesis, dozens of excellent quantitative studies have also been produced in this area, but researchers have tended to neglect outliers and have not been particularly interested in characterising or explaining so-called deviant autocracies. The aim of my thesis is to contribute to existing literature on democratisation by addressing an empirical puzzle, i.e. absent of democratic transition in deviant autocracies, and using up-to-date quantitative cross-sectional data to detect outliers.

Another contribution is analytical, as the thesis offers an explanation of the absence of democratic transition in cases classified as deviant autocracies based on the findings of middle-range theoretical analysis of elite interaction, state capacity and international bargaining during the transitional period. Examining the negotiation process yields insights into the interests and agendas of various major political elites, both internal and external, during the decision-making process. This analytical tool may help future researchers to analyse other deviant autocracies.

Finally, the thesis contributes to empirical knowledge of the political development of Hong Kong and Singapore, especially their failure to transition to democracy – despite the presence of structural factors conducive to democratic development – and their emergence instead as stable deviant autocracies. Two small-N case studies based on recently declassified archival data are used to study the outliers, the deviant autocracies of Hong Kong and Singapore, to understand the factors responsible for their absence of democratic transition. Most of the declassified government documents used in the case studies have only very recently been released

to the public, and thus offer important empirical insights into the puzzle of Hong Kong and Singapore's lack of democratisation.

Methodological Considerations

To fully answer my research question, a mixed research methodology (combining quantitative and qualitative methods) is developed (see Goertz and Mahoney 2012: 110; 2013: 247-248; Ho and Fung 2015: 46-47; Humphreys and Jacobs 2015; Lieberman 2005). Cross-country quantitative analysis is used in Chapter 3 to identify the particular characteristics of the deviant autocracies of Singapore and Hong Kong. The quantitative analysis has two major goals. First, to replicate the assumptions of the structural approach, particularly the premise that economic development is significantly positively related to democratic development. Second, to investigate the increase in outliers, specifically deviant autocracies, to pave the way for further analysis in the subsequent chapters. The quantitative analysis is based on a self-compiled cross-country dataset covering 167 countries from 1960 to 2011. Chapter 3 provides a comprehensive discussion of the operationalisation and conceptualisation of the large-N analysis, along with methods of data collection and data analysis. Once the deviant autocracies have been characterised, small-N analysis is conducted to examine the two selected cases of deviant autocracy in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively, using the proposed analytical framework. The findings complement those of the quantitative analysis, capturing the essence of elite interaction, state capacity and bargaining during the transitional period to account for the emergence of deviant autocracies.

In the small-N analysis, two case studies of deviant autocracies are examined using process tracing, with particular reference to the influence of elite interaction on the political regimes of deviant autocracies. Process tracing is a newly developed qualitative tool used to identify the causes of a specific outcome in a particular case (Bennett 2001, 2006, 2008; Bennett and Elman 2006; Blatter and Haverland 2012: 80; Collier 2011; Collier et al. 2010; Della Porta and Keating 2008: 13; George and Bennett

2005; George and McKeown 1985; Kittel and Kuehn 2013: 3; Mahoney 2012: 571; Van Evera 1997; Vennesson 2008: 224). The method is ideally suited to investigation of the involvement of actors in institutional change and highly contingent events. According to Vennesson (2008), process tracing 'provides a way to learn and evaluate empirically the preferences and perceptions of actors, their purposes, their goals, their values and their specification of the situations that face them' (p. 233). Interestingly, most of the deviant autocracies identified in Chapter 3 were influenced by the same highly contingent historical developments, such as a disputed process of decolonisation from British rule and a Cold War mentality. Indeed, the fact that authors see a positive relationship between British colonisation and democratisation makes this puzzle the more intriguing (see Barro 1996: 19; Huber et al. 1993: 9; Jensen and Skaaning 2012: 1129; Lipset et al. 1993: 160). The combination of neo actor-based analysis and process tracing sheds light on the interaction of and conflict between international actors and local elites and their role in shaping deviant autocratic political systems.

To identify and study the deviant autocracies with mixed methods, an important issue, the methodological hierarchy of quantitative and qualitative methods, must be discussed. This issue has been highlighted since the 1970s (see Denzin 1970, 2012; Howe 2004). Denzin and Howe both argued that quantitative methods should be in addition to qualitative enquiry. This debate is indeed rooted in two fundamental issues related to mixed methods, that is, what is the mixed method, and how should it be implemented. With regarded to the first issue, there is little controversy over the idea of mixed methods. In recent years, there has been consensus on how mixed methods is defined: 'a primary or core method combined with one or more strategies drawn from a second, different method for addressing the research question by either collecting or analysing data' (Morse and Niehaus 2009: 14). The justification of using mixed methods is also well discussed in the literature to address the issues related to its epistemology, distinctive philosophical foundations and merits (see Coppedge 1999: 465; Geertz 1973: 6; Guba 1990; Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 10; Hesse-Biber 2010; Smith and Heshusius 1986; Wilson and Butler 2007: 122). Hence, many excellent academic research studies have adopted both quantitative and qualitative methods (Borkan 2004; Caracelli 2006; Chen 2006;

Coppedge 2005; Creswell, Fetters and Ivankova 2004; Currall and Towler 2003; Greene, Benjamin and Goodyear 2001; Johnstone 2004; Morgan and Stewart 2002; Ridenour and Newman 2008; Twinn 2003).

However, the controversy is related to the implementation of the mixed method. Lieberman is one of the pioneers and published an article in *American Political Science Review* in 2005 that suggested a systematic way to conceptualise the actual operation of mixing quantitative and qualitative methods. It provides a handful of guidelines for the use of 'mixed methods' or 'nested analysis' to join 'intensive case-study analysis with statistical analysis… statistical analyses can guide case selection for in-depth research, provide direction for more focused case studies and comparisons' (Lieberman 2005: 435). Since then, many scholars have discussed the application of mixed methods (see Johnson et al. 2007; Shannon-Baker 2016). The article of Morse and Niehaus (2009: 29-34) is more relevant to the issue of methodological hierarchy of quantitative and qualitative methods. They suggest two major types: 'QUAN – Qual', i.e., quantitatively-driven, qualitative supplemental design, and 'QUAL-quan', i.e., qualitatively-driven, quantitative supplemental design.

This thesis is adopt the QUAN – Qual approach for the following reason. As researcher, the prime goal is to understand the social issues and phenomena. To understand the problem of deviant autocracies, I would like to take a pragmatic approach, that is, to adopt the method that can help me to answer the underlying research question (see Burnham et al. 2004; Hammersley and Atkinson 1995; Shannon-Baker 2016). This study aims to explain deviant cases with reference to the empirical puzzle based on the major notion of structural explanation originally derived from quantitative analysis. Hence, I agree that the best way to identify deviant autocracies is to follow the principle of hierarchical sequencing of first structural (quantitative) and then agential (qualitative) approaches. Thus, I have replicated the major notion of structural explanation with the quantitative method in Chapter 3 and map out the deviant autocracies before moving toward qualitative deviant case studies with a neo actor-based approach (see Chapter 4) to analyse the selected cases in Chapters 5 and 6.

It is methodologically important to identify a suitable tool for small-N analysis of the deviant autocracies. The small-N research method has a relatively long history. In some influential studies, cases have been compared systematically. The method of agreement and difference advocated by John Stuart Mill significantly influenced the development of small-N analysis (see Mill 1893). As Lijphart (1971) noted, 'Mill's method of concomitant variations is often claimed to be the first systematic formulation of the modern comparative method' (p. 688). In the early 1970s, small-N qualitative analysis developed rapidly (see Eckstein 1975; Lijphart 1971, 1975; Meckstroth 1975; Przeworski and Teune 1970). Proponents of comparative method proposed a refined strategy enabling researchers to control variables in non-statistical or non-experimental situations using cross-case techniques such as identifying the Most Similar Systems (MSS) and the Most Different Systems (MDS) designs (see Anckar 2008: 394-396; De Meur and Berg-Schlosser 1994: 198-199; Frendreis 1983: 260; Kohli et al. 1996: 17; Lijphart 1971, 1975; Przeworski and Teune 1970; Sartori 1994: 16; Skocpol 1984). Nevertheless, implementation of traditional cross-case methods encounter many problems and challenges. One problem is that of 'too many variables, too few cases' (see Collier 1993: 107; Lijphart 1971: 686, 1975; Tarrow 2010: 235). Those designs also encounter the problem of overdetermination, fail to eliminate other explanations, and subject to the availability of cases and data for comparison (see Burnham et al. 2004: 93; Collier 1993: 111; Hall 2006, 2008; Przeworski and Teune 1970: 34-35; Tarrow 2010: 234-235).

To overcome the limitations of existing small-N comparison methods, a new perspective on the case-study method, known as process tracing, provides an ideal analytical tool for investigation of deviant autocracies. It is an innovative means of conducting small-N analysis by tracing the process of an event and the influence of various factors on the event. Process tracing offers an alternative method of making within-case causal inferences by integrating positivist and interpretivist research designs and analysing the effects of different conditions on the outcomes (see Blatter and Haverland 2012: 82; George and Bennett 2005: 214; Mahoney and Goertz 2004; Vennesson 2008: 224, 232-236).

This qualitative method has gained popularity since its introduction by George and Bennett in a 2005 monograph (see also Campbell 1975; George and McKeown 1985; Kittel and Kuehn 2013: 1; Van Evera 1997). Process tracing has become one of the most frequently used research methods in the disciplines of international relations and political science, and has been widely accepted by scholars since 2005 (see Collier 1993: 110-112; Gerring 2004; Kittel and Kuehn 2013: 1-2; Tilly 1997: 48; Vennesson 2008: 225). The method has since been further developed, elaborated and conceptualised to provide ever more solid ontological and epistemological grounds for causal inference (see Blatter and Haverland 2012: 83; Collier et al. 2010: 184-196; Hall 2006, 2008; Kittel and Kuehn 2013; Mahoney 2012; Vennesson 2008: 228-232).[2]

The aim of this thesis is to understand deviant autocracies by conducting exploratory case study analysis complemented by process tracing. However, given the diverse interpretation of process tracing and its application (see George and Bennett 2005; Gerring 2007; Hall 2006, 2008; Kittel and Kuehn 2013: 3; Mahoney 2007, 2012: 572), an explanation of its use in this thesis is required. Process tracing is a qualitative method in its own right; its use in this thesis is confined to 'uncovering a specific set of historical conditions (e.g. social and institutional context, actors' preferences and strategies)' (Kittel and Kuehn 2013: 3) and obtaining 'a historical explanation of an individual case' (Bennett 2008: 704). It is worth noting that the process-tracing method has been widely accepted and used to explain issues related to democracy (see Bunce 2000; Kittel and Kuehn 2013: 6).

In the current thesis, cases of deviant autocracies are chosen based on the logic of information-oriented selection[3] (see Flyvbjerg 2006: 230; Vennesson 2008: 227). The benefits of deviant case analysis to investigation of theoretical anomalies have

[2] The introduction of this new method also triggered lively debate on epistemological and methodological issues relating to the analysis of causal mechanisms (see Blatter and Haverland 2012: 94-98; Gerring 2007, 2010; Goertz and Mahoney 2012: 101-106; Levy 2007: 203-205; Ragin 2000; Schneider et al. 2006; Vennesson 2008: 228-232). Proponents of the process-tracing approach have also rigorously discussed methods of hypothesis testing (see Bennett 2008: 706; Blatter and Haverland 2012: 143; Collier 2011: 825; Mahoney 2012: 571-572; Van Evera 1997: 31-32).

[3] According to Lijphart (1971: 682-683, 1975: 162), comparative, experimental, statistical and case study methods are all regarded as basic methods in social sciences disciplines. One of seven commonly used case-selection procedures, comprising typical, diverse, extreme, deviant, influential, most similar and most different (see Seawright and Gerring 2008: 296-297).

been widely discussed (see Flyvbjerg 2006: 229; Lijphart 1971: 691; Tarrow 2010: 248-249). According to Seawright and Gerring (2008), '[t]he purpose of a deviant case analysis is usually to probe for new—but as yet unspecified—explanations… [it] is an exploratory form of research' (p. 302). Deviant case analysis is ideally suited to exploratory research designed 'to probe new explanations for Y [effect]' (Seawright and Gerring 2008: 297). It thus works perfectly with process tracing, which can be used to explain deviant cases when the established theory – in this case structural approaches such as in particular modernisation theory – cannot predict or explain the outcome adequately; in this research, however, the evidence obtained from the deviant case analysis can help us to explain deviant autocracies (see Bennett 2008: 705; George and Bennett 2005: 215).

Some concerns have been raised about case selection. Gerring (2010: 1502) argued that a single case study is insufficient to determine a causal path. Therefore, I follow recommendations for conducting a paired comparison, such as expanding the methodological plurality, localising the theoretical framework used and supplementing the analysis with process tracing (see Tarrow 2010: 239, 250-252). Selecting two cases and focusing on a specific historical period, i.e. a transitional period, enhances the power of neo actor-based analysis to explain deviant autocracies. This procedure also removes the risk of confirmation bias associated with the use of a single case study (George and Bennett 2005: 217, 220; Tarrow 2010: 246).

A justification for selecting two cases is also provided by the results of the large-N analysis, presented in Chapter 3. The large-N analysis reveals that the abnormal features of the deviant autocracies under study, i.e. the major factors addressed using the structural approach, cannot account for their failure to transition to democracy. Collecting empirical evidence on a list of deviant autocracies helps to avoid the problem of non-representativeness in the selection of cases for small-N analysis in Chapter 5 and 6 (see Geddes 1990; Tarrow 2010: 247). It may be argued that selecting two cases of deviant autocracy violates the imperatives of traditional case-selection methods, i.e. to avoid selecting dependent variables and to select both positive and negative cases. However, these imperatives have been extensively discussed in recent literature and shown to be misleading (see Bennett and Elman

2006; Blatter and Haverland 2012: 100; Collier, Mahoney, and Seawright 2004; Dion 1998; Geddes 1990). Indeed, scholars have widely agreed that it is appropriate to select dependent variables for use in qualitative research (see Braumoeller and Goertz 2000; Dion, 1998; King, Keohane and Verba 1994; Mahoney and Goertz 2004: 653). Unlike traditional cross-case comparison, process tracing relies on within-case analysis. It provides more flexibility in selecting cases. The only criterion for the selection of cases for the tracing method is the availability of the empirical information required to make causal claims (Blatter and Haverland 2012: 102). Blatter and Haverland (2012) also noted that the 'logic of case selection depends on the specific goals that we want to pursue' (p. 99). Nevertheless, it is possible to draw out generalisations from the two cases (see Chapter 7). I argue that to attain the goal of understanding deviant autocracies, Singapore and Hong Kong offer suitable cases for deviant case analysis with process tracing, for the following reasons.

Among the outliers identified in Chapter 3, Hong Kong and Singapore possess similar demographic and socio-economic characteristics and share a colonial history. In addition, internal and external elites are structured similarly in the two societies. During their transitional decolonisation periods, both regions were influenced by the same external actors, namely Britain and Communist China. Historically, both Hong Kong and Singapore were colonies of Britain. Singapore was colonised in 1826 as part of the Straits Settlements, while Hong Kong was ceded to Britain in 1842 after the Anglo-Chinese War. Therefore, both regions had experienced more than 150 years of British colonial rule at the point of their decolonisation; due to this colonial legacy, their cultures were roughly the same. Even more importantly, their shared British colonial history ensures that in both cases important historical records are available in government archives. Demographically, Singapore and Hong Kong have similar population structures; for example, the population of Hong Kong was about 7.3 million in 2016 (Census and Statistics Department 2016) and that of Singapore was 5.5 million in 2015 (Department of Statistics Singapore 2016). Both cases are small states or territories: Singapore occupies only 719.1 square kilometres of land (Department of Statistics Singapore 2016), while Hong Kong covers 1,104 square kilometres (Information Services Department 2011: 285). Notably, Veenendaal and Corbett (2015)

argued for the importance of studying small states to address large questions in comparative politics. In addition, Chinese constitute the majority of the population in both cases: 93.1% and 74.2% in Hong Kong and Singapore respectively (Central Intelligence Agency 2014). Finally, Hong Kong and Singapore have exhibited similar economic-development trajectories with rapid economic growth since the 1960s.[4] Given these significant similarities, the lack of comparative work on the two cases is surprising. Only a few researchers have paired Hong Kong and Singapore as case studies to investigate democracy, political economy or political context (see Barro 1996; Bell 2006; Cheung 2008; Grenville 1994; Jones 1997; Lim 1999; Lee and Haque 2006; Lee and Yu 2012; Ortmann 2010a, 2010b, 2014a; Thomas 2014; Wang 1994). For the above reasons, Hong Kong and Singapore are ideal cases for small-N analysis in the current research.

Archival research provides essential empirical data for the analysis and process tracing of deviant autocratic development. Archival materials have been successfully used in previous paired case studies (see Tilly 1984; Wood 2002). To implement process tracing, Blatter and Haverland (2012) suggested that 'comprehensive storylines' are crucial. '[T]he overall process is sectioned into different sequences that are separated by decisive situations and phases of transformation… [this] allows for identifying "turning points" and "phases of transformation" for these conditions and outcomes' (pp. 111-112). Archival materials offer a vivid illustration of chronological historical development, and enable us to determine why an outcome occurred at a particular time and in a particular place (see George and Bennett 2005: 6; Hall 2008: 306; Vennesson 2008: 228-232). Yom (2015: 628) also recommended using comparative historical analysis in the form of process tracing to analyse the actors and variables responsible for outcomes. Therefore, the small-N analysis in Chapters 5 and 6 is conducted with reference to three periods. Whilst the transitional period provides the main 'storyline', pre-transitional and post-transitional periods are also analysed to observe the influence of the interaction of international actors and local elites on the pace and direction of democratic development in Singapore and Hong Kong. In

[4] It also triggered academic debates on approaches to development (see Berger and Beeson 1998; Hout 1993, 2009, 2016; Hout and Meijerink 1996; Hutchison, Hout, Hughes and Robison 2014; Krugman 1994; Rodan et al. 2001; Stiglitz 1996; Wade 1990, 1993; World Bank 1993).

Chapter 4, the methods of data collection and archival research for the small-N analysis are described and justified in greater detail.

Chapter Outline

In Chapter 2, I review the development of literature in the field of democratisation to highlight the understudied area of deviant autocracy. Systematic research on democratisation began in the 1950s, with a particular focus on the role of structural factors, especially the level of economic development, in explaining democratic consolidation in Western Europe and North America. Numerous researchers have attempted to explain the increase in the number of countries transitioning to democracy in South America, Southern and Eastern Europe since the 1970s. There are two widely recognised approaches to explaining democratic transition: the structural on the one hand, and the process-driven approach on the other hand. Proponents of the structural approach have tended to perform large-N analysis, essentially based on the argument made in the 1950s that economic development is significantly positively related to democratic development. In contrast, the process-driven approach usually involves small-N analysis of successful cases of democratic transition to elucidate the role of the interaction of internal actors in shaping political regimes. The controversies and debates related to these approaches are further discussed in this chapter.

The changing focus of recent studies of democratisation and autocracy has highlighted the need to study deviant autocracies. Increasing concerns have been raised about countries that fail to establish democracy after transitioning from an authoritarian regime and remain 'stuck' between democracy and authoritarianism. These are also known as hybrid regimes. A significant number of researchers have developed typologies to conceptualise hybrid regimes and studied the problems associated with this type of regime. A new focus of democratisation research is on deviant democracies. Most studies in this area have investigated cases of successful democratisation against the odds; i.e. in the absence of favourable structural

conditions. Another important set of studies has been produced on the persistence of autocracy; that is, how authoritarian leaders manage to stay in power through various institutional arrangements and strategies for repressing and co-opting elites. However, my literature review reveals that countries with favourable structural conditions for democratisation that nevertheless retain non-democratic or autocratic regimes are still understudied. The objective of my thesis is to fill this gap in the literature by solving the puzzle of deviant autocracy.

To empirically identify cases of deviant autocracies, I conduct large-N analysis in Chapter 3 to replicate the major tenets of the structural explanation and identify outliers, namely deviant autocracies. This chapter begins with a rigorous discussion of the conceptualisation and operationalisation of the terms 'democracy' and 'autocracy'. A minimalist approach is used to characterise democratic and autocratic regimes. Next, I provide a brief overview of the major structural factors identified in previous literature, such as economic development, social homogeneity, oil exportation, religious beliefs, economic aid, diffusion via democratic neighbours and colonial influence. The data, which cover 167 countries from 1960 to 2011, suggest that economic development is still the most important predictor of democratic transition, with a significantly positive effect on democratisation. Even more importantly, the data show that the number of deviant autocracies has increased since the 1970s. Among the outliers are Bahrain, Brunei, Equatorial Guinea, Hong Kong, Kuwait, Macau, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore and the United Arab Emirates.

In Chapter 4, I construct a middle-range analytical framework, neo actor-based analysis, to investigate the interaction of state capacity with international and domestic actors in deviant autocracies in Asia. To overcome the limitations of a process-driven explanation, as discussed in Chapter 2, the proposed framework not only accommodates the history of elite domination in Asia but draws on the actor-based approach used in previous democratisation studies. Insights from elite theory, models of elite bargaining and elite-structure paradigms are used to characterise the political systems that emerged in the post-transitional society. The transitional period in each case is defined as the period of decolonisation and change of sovereignty. The geopolitical situation, together with the influence of Communism, diaspora linkage

and/or future sovereign powers, led to conflict between important external actors during the troubled transitional period. Tracing the process by which post-transition ruling elites have gained political power in deviant autocracies sheds light on how political regimes become autocratic in the first place. This analytical framework also aids examination of the negotiation between agencies, including international and domestic actors, and how this negotiation directs coercive state capacity towards autocracy. To provide some background information on the deviant case studies analysed with process tracing in Chapters 5 and 6, I briefly describe elite bargaining activities and state capacity in Hong Kong and Singapore in Chapter 4. I also describe and justify the process of data collection for the small-N analysis.

Chapter 5 presents a small-N case study of Singapore. Neo actor-based analysis is used to trace the emergence of Singapore's autocratic regime during the transitional period. Three important factors are identified: 1) domestic elites, such as business and professional elites and opposition parties; 2) state capacity, i.e. how ruling elites have empowered themselves and monopolised coercive state capacity; and 3) the international bargaining situation, which involved actors such as Communist China, ruling elites and Communist insurgency groups in Malaysia. The above three factors are analysed in chronological order: first, in the pre-transitional period, before Singapore's decolonisation in the 1950s; second, during transition in the 1950s and 1960s; and third, in the post-independence period after 1965. This chapter is based on data drawn from approximately 8,000 pages of declassified archival documents from the United Kingdom, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya. I show that the interaction of the above three factors, especially during the transitional period in the 1950s and 1960s, paved the way for the People's Action Party (PAP) and its leader to gain political power in Singapore. The findings help us to understand and explain the emergence of deviant democracy in Singapore.

In Chapter 6, the same method of neo actor-based analysis is used with the second empirical case study to analyse the effects of the three factors mentioned above – domestic elites, state capacity and the international bargaining situation – on Hong Kong's post-transitional political system. Hong Kong's pre-transitional period is defined as the period before the late 1970s, i.e. prior to the negotiation between

British and Chinese ruling elites on the future of Hong Kong. The transitional period ran from 1979 to 1984, during which time the British and Chinese governments officially discussed arrangements for the transfer of sovereignty of Hong Kong. The post-transitional period began with the official announcement of the Sino-British Joint Declaration on December 1984, China and Britain's agreement on the socio-economic and political arrangements of Hong Kong post-handover. This chapter is also based on recently declassified archival data, drawn from approximately 10,000 pages of documentation to trace the elite decision making process during the transitional period, i.e. their negotiation on the transfer of sovereignty over Hong Kong from Britain to China. The data suggest that during the negotiation and transition, self-interested local business elites in Hong Kong were empowered by external actors seeking to safeguard their own interests in the post-transitional society. As a result, local elites gained political control of Hong Kong and are now capable of manipulating coercive state capacity to deter any efforts made by the opposition to implement a fully democratic government in Hong Kong.

In the last chapter, I summarise the major findings of the large-N and small-N analyses and discuss the contributions made by this study to literature on democratisation, along with future research agendas relating to deviant autocracies and theories of democratisation. The results of the two deviant case studies with process tracing suggest that to understand the emergence of deviant autocracies in Asia, it is crucial to consider elite interests and elite fragmentation. The origin and emergence of autocratic regimes in Singapore and Hong Kong provide several important lessons. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, this thesis makes theoretical contribution by opening up a new research agenda for scholars who are concerned about democratic transition and non-transition among the deviant autocracies. At the analytical level, as this thesis aims to offer an explanation of non-transition among the deviant autocracies while using a middle-range theory which focuses on elite interaction, state capacity and international bargaining process during the transitional period. This thesis also contributes to our empirical knowledge of the cases of Hong Kong and Singapore, and why these countries have not made a transition to democracy despite all the right circumstances at that time with the fertile

soil of structural factors and instead are such stable deviant autocracies. However, the small-N analysis covers only two deviant autocracies. Future researchers working in the field of democratisation should further investigate this promising but under-researched topic.

Chapter 2: Debating Democratisation: Previous Research

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature in the field of democratisation to highlight the importance of an understudied area: deviant autocracies. In studies of democratisation, many scholars have focused on the transition to or consolidation of democracy, or the transition to a hybrid regime. The literature implicitly and explicitly suggests that structural factors play an important role in democratic consolidation and transition to democracy (Barro 1996: 2; Boix 2011; Boix and Stokes 2003, Colaresi and Thompson 2003: 383; Coulter 1975; Croissant 2004; Crouch and Morley 1999; Cutright and Wiley 1969; Cutright 1963; Epstein et al. 2006; Lipset 1959, 1960, 1994; Lipset, Seong and Torres 1993; Narayan, Narayan and Smyth 2010; Ravich 2000; Rost and Booth 2008: 635; Rowen 1995; Smith 1969; Teorell 2010). In recent years, the focus has moved toward the issues of deviant democracies, i.e. cases that fulfil few structural criteria for democracy but which nonetheless make a transition to democracy and/or have consolidated their democratic systems (see Doorenspleet 2012; Doorenspleet and Kopecký 2008; Doorenspleet, Kopecký and Mudde 2008; Seeberg 2010b, 2012, 2014a, 2014b). Deviant autocracies, i.e. cases which have favourable structural factors but are still authoritarian, correspondingly deserve more attention. Yet there are still controversies about how to conceptualise and measure deviant autocracies. I highlight these issues at the end of this chapter and analyse them further in the next chapter.

This chapter is in two parts. Section 2.1 provides an overview of key developments in the field of democratisation since the 1950s. To begin with, it is essential to review how the concept of democracy have been theorised. The way students of democratisation conceptualise democracy affects how democracy is

applied in social sciences' empirical studies. This part reviews early empirical studies on democratisation in the 1950s, which mainly concerned the consolidation of democracy in Western Europe and Northern America, and the literature from the 1970s to 1990s on the transition to democracy, which mainly addressed political developments and democratisation in Latin America and Eastern and Southern Europe. Finally, this section examines important recent literature in the field that focuses on hybrid regimes and countries with failed transitions.

Section 2.2 reviews major developments in studies of deviant democracies. In addition to recent developments in the literature on the durability of autocratic regimes, it is important to review the body of literature on deviant democracies, as it can shed light on the persistence of deviant autocracies. In this section, I therefore highlight the importance of studying deviant autocracies and critically examining existing studies that focus on those anomalous cases.

2.1 Studies of Democratisation: Developments in the Field since the 1950s

When modern political theorists and scholars of democratisation define and operationalise democracy they are still strongly influenced by notions of ancient Greek democracy. Athenian democracy in particular was a primitive form of government emphasising participation in government and policy making by all citizens. Before we discuss studies of democratisation since the 1950s, it is beneficial to survey ancient forms of democracy and how different political theorists conceptualised democracy during the Enlightenment. This can help us understand democracy and democratisation in the twentieth century.

It is generally agreed that democracy as a form of government derives from ancient Athenian democracy. The Greek word for 'democracy' connotes rule by the people (Arblaster 1987: 15; Beetham and Boyle 1995: 5; Bernal 1987; Birch 1993: 45; Dahl 1989: 14; Finley 1983; Held 2006: 102; Ober 1989: 3; Stockton 1990: 1). Greek

philosophers in the fourth and fifth centuries BC such as Thucydides, Plato and Aristotle significantly contributed to the concept of democracy (see Jones 1957). Nevertheless, ancient Athenian democracy can hardly be categorised as democracy in the modern sense. Only male Athenian residents with citizenship rights could participate in political life, such as voting or holding public office; women, slaves and foreigners were excluded from political life. The practice of democracy was also different. In ancient Athens, democracy was based on direct democracy, whereas modern democracy relies on representative democracy (see Dahl 1989: 20-23; Møller and Skanning 2013b: 17; Ober 1989: 4-8; Osborne 2010: 25-33; Stockton 1990: 17-18; Tilly 2007: 25).

The concept of democracy was further developed in the Enlightenment. Beginning in the 17th century, political philosophers attempted to further develop a normative political theory to conceptualise democracy. John Locke in his *Second Treatise of Government* emphasises the importance of individual rights, and claims that the relationship between the government and individuals is based on trust. If the government breaks their trust, citizens have the right to reassert their individual rights. Thomas Hobbes in *Leviathan* stated that individuals exchange their liberty for protection by the state, giving up their power to a ruler (see Harrison 1993: 44-52). Jean-Jacques Rousseau in *The Social Contract* emphasises two important concepts, liberty and equality (see Arblaster 1987: 32-34; Harrison 1993: 52; Williams 2014: 29), and claims that citizens must be 'forced to be free' (Williams 2014: 28). These three social contract theorists conceptualised the relationship between the government and the ruled, the sources of the government's power and authority, and individual citizens' rights, laying the foundations of modern democracy.

Indeed, modern republican democracy, representative government and the logic of political equality have been strongly influenced by these philosophers (see Dahl 1989: 28-33; Birch 1993: 49-68). For example, in America, the 1776 Declaration of Independence and the Constitution embody ideas of representative democracy, checks and balances, limited government and separation of power that show the influence of Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison (see Arblaster 1987:

37-41; Birch 1993: 49-56; Dahl 1989: 24-28). Those ideas shaped how modern parliamentary and presidential systems work within a democratic society.

Since then, theories of democracy have changed from normative and analytical to being empirically driven. Scholars started to search for patterns and observable phenomena, and to construct causal hypotheses that can be tested empirically. Lively (2007 [1975]) described the development of theories of democracy in a very clear and convincing way:

> All political theories, they say, are cast in one or more of three moulds – normative, analytic or empirical. Normative theory attempts to justify particular values and to suggest the institutions, policies or social behaviour which would instate or enhance those values. Analytic theories are concerned with conceptual analysis. Empirical theories are descriptive and explanatory, built up from observations of the real world (p. 54).

Studying the process of democratisation involves operationalisation of democracy as a measurable variable suitable for intra- or interregional comparisons. But there is always divergence in how normative, analytical and empirical theorists conceptualise democracy (see Allison 1994: 9). Modern political philosophers conceive of democracy in a specific way and tend to argue that democracy involves the majority principle and the rule of the people, which includes citizenship, majority decision-making, political equality, popular rule and responsible government (Lively 2007 [1975]: 19-45). Nevertheless, there are controversies over how to define democracy in a modern sense. There are two major approaches. The first, the so-called 'minimalist approach', focuses on free and fair elections to select representatives to run the government (see Boix, Miller and Rosato 2012; Posner 2003; Przeworski 1999; Riker 1982; and i.e. Schumpeter 1950: 269). The second, known as the substantive approach, extends the list of criteria beyond the minimalist approach to include absolute social equality, the rule of law, civil liberties and various socio-economic rights (see Baldwin 1990; Ploug and Kvist 1994; Sen 2001: 10; Sen and Drèze 1989; Skaaning, Gerring and Bartusevičius 2015: 1500; Spicker 2008). The substantive approach attempts to operationalise the meaning of democracy closer to the normative definition, but it is difficult to use for testing empirical hypotheses. Hence, most scholars of democratisation adopt the minimalist approach (Boix, Miller and Rosato 2012; Doorenspleet 2004: 321). There is

a detailed discussion of the conceptualisation and operationalisation of democracy in Chapter 3.

Key Developments in the Field of Democratisation since the 1950s: The Consolidation of Democracy in Western Countries

The initial phase of empirical studies of democratisation in the 1950s mainly focused on the consolidation of democracy in Western countries. Based on modernisation theory, Lipset (1959) identified economic development as a prerequisite for sustaining democracy. He suggested that 'economic development… is a basic condition sustaining democracy' (p. 86). Lipset (1960) further argued that economic development should not be measured solely by per capita income, because 'all the various aspects of economic development – industrialisation, urbanisation, wealth, and education – are so closely interrelated as to form one major factor which has the political correlate of democracy' (p. 41). A significant number of studies have replicated Lipset's ideas and support his findings (see Coulter 1975; Cutright and Wiley 1969; Cutright 1963; Smith 1969).

Yet we must note that Lipset (1959) used the term 'sustaining democracy', i.e. consolidation of democracy, rather than transition to democracy. Hence, scholars have argued that many research projects confuse transitions to democracy with consolidation of democracy (see Diamond et al. 2014; Doorenspleet 2012: 192). In response, the existing literature includes rigorous debates on how to understand democratic consolidation (see Barany 1997; Diamond 1994: 16; Diamond et al. 2014: 93; Linde and Ekman 2003: 396; Przeworski et al. 1996; Rhoden 2015: 561; Schmitter 2010: 24; Svolik 2008: 153; Tusalem 2015: 31). To understand the meaning of democratic consolidation more precisely, Merkel (1998: 39-40) has suggested that democratic consolidation must be conceptualised at four different levels: constitutional consolidation, representative consolidation, behavioural consolidation and consolidation of civic culture and civil society.

Studies of democracy were significantly affected by the Cold War and the perceived threat of the Soviet Union. To begin with, there was extensive debate whether democracy is compatible with capitalism and socialism (see Berger 1992; Diamond and Plattner 1993; Fukuyama 1992; Schumpeter 1950). In addition, the international promotion of democracy and the popularity of modernisation theory were both closely related to American foreign policy, which aimed to counteract the influence of the Soviet Union. According to Carothers (1999), over the last century, the United States government has been actively involved in helping countries all over the world to set up electoral systems and promote democracy, including Japan, Germany, Cuba, the Philippines, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Panama, Nicaragua, Haiti and countries in the Caribbean and Central America. Especially since the 1960s, foreign aid and democracy promotion have mainly been driven by the security rationale of fighting 'against the spread of Soviet influence… The United States was competing with the Soviet Union for influence over and the loyalty of third world governments' (pp. 19-20). During the Kennedy Administration, policy was largely based on modernisation theory, that 'promoting economic development in the third world would simultaneously do good (reduce poverty) and serve the goal of fighting communism: helping countries grow economically would prevent empty stomachs from making revolutions and would foster democratic, therefore pro-Western, systems' (Carothers 1999: 20-21). Yet in the 1960s and 1970s, American policy was distracted by anti-communism campaigns which hindered the promotion of democracy; CIA support of the Guatemalan military's counterinsurgency is a case in point. Such a policy change may have affected the survival of infant democracies (see Carothers 1999: 27).

In response to the problem of failed transitions to democracy among developing countries, Huntington (1968) urged that economic progress in underdeveloped countries leads to unstable political systems and is conducive to the rise of authoritarianism. Beginning in the 1970s, a tremendous number of countries in different regions, such as Latin America and Southern Europe, transitioned to democracy. These successful cases attracted the attention of regional specialists and

scholars of comparative politics and democratisation, who attempted to elucidate the factors behind successful and failed transitions.

Key Developments in the Field of Democratisation since the 1970s: Transitions to Democracy

Before we can understand theories of transition to democracy, we need to understand the meaning of transition. In addition to the democracies in North America and Western Europe already existing in the 1950s, a significant number of countries transitioned to democracy from the 1970s onward. The term transition has been used to describe these political changes or regime transitions (see Diamond, Fukuyama, Horowitz and Plattner 2014: 86; Haggard and Kaufman 1997: 264). Diamond et al. (2014: 86-87) argue that it is a relatively new phenomenon to associate the word 'transition' with regime change. Dankwart Rustow (1970) pioneered the conceptualisation of transition to democracy in his seminal paper, *Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model*, suggesting that 'factors that keep a democracy stable may not be the ones that brought it into existence' (p. 346). In other words, the literature on democracy in the 1950s solely focused on democratic consolidation, offering little help in explaining transition in developing countries.

Since then, a significant number of studies have used different research methods to focus on different periods of time or regions to explain transition to democracy. They fall into two major theoretical camps: structural explanations and process-driven approaches (see Doorenspleet 2004: 310; Kitschelt 1992; Posusney 2004: 128; Zhang 1994: 110).

The structural approach mainly developed out of Lipset's (1959) theories. High levels of economic development can facilitate social developments such as the growth of the middle class and a higher literacy rate, which is considered favourable for a country's transition to democracy (Lipset, Seong and Torres 1993: 166; Lipset 1994: 17). This idea has been tested in numerous large-N quantitative studies with various

structural and contextual variables to explain transition to democracy. Covering different periods of time and regions, these studies have replicated Lipset's analyses and the findings appear to be very robust (see Barro 1996: 2; Boix 2011; Colaresi and Thompson 2003: 383; Croissant 2004; Crouch and Morley 1999; Epstein et al. 2006; Huber et al. 1993; Lipset 1959; Lipset 1994; Lipset et al. 1993; Narayan et al. 2010; Ravich 2000; Rost and Booth 2008: 635; Rowen 1995; Rueschemeyer et al. 1992; Teorell 2010).

Nevertheless, the proposition that economic development facilitates the transition to democracy has led to a lively debate.[5] Critics suggest that there is no

[5] There is another important classical approach, the dependency approach, studying the issues related to democratisation. According to Hout (2016) 'modernisation and dependency approaches have had important influences on more recent theorising' (p. 21). However, this approach is not incorporated in the following discussion and analysis due to the following three reasons: 1) dependency and world-system theories, derived from Marxist approach are mainly against the notions of classic modernisation theory and functionalism in the 1950s. The criticisms are largely not applied to the literature on democratisation from the 1970s onward. The dependency and world-system approaches have addressed the issue of domination of the Western modernised countries over the underdeveloped countries, such as in the context of Latin America (see Cardoso 1973; Chase-Dunn 1975; Frank 1969, 1971; Hout 2016; Wallerstein 1974, 2000). I agree that '[t]hese theories began in different historical contexts, were influenced by different theoretical traditions, offered different explanations and… used different methodologies' (Doorenspleet 2005: 53). Yet, the proponents of modernisation theory after the 1970s have already taken the criticisms seriously and significantly refined the argument, methodology and measurements and method of analysis (see Doorenspleet 2005: 59-63); 2) the second concern is about the relevancy of Marxist approaches on democracy. The approaches were originally based on normative argument to highlight to issue of unequal economic relationship between the core and peripheries. Bollen (1983) was the pioneer studied the effect of peripheral and semi-peripheral countries on levels of democracy with quantitative analysis. He finds that "both peripheral and semiperipheral countries are less democratic than core nations" (p. 477). But his study is suffered from several limitations. First, his study was not test the relationship between dependency level and economic development; Second, the result only discussed the differences between the democratic countries (see Bollen 1983: 477-478; Doorenspleet 2005: 73, 85). Also his study artificially changed the value of six outliers, including Spain, Portugal, South Africa, Taiwan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, which may affect the overall regression results; 3) the recent economic development among the countries in Asia indicated that the relationship between the so-called core and peripheries is different from the assumption of the Marxist approaches. The dependency and world-system theories asserted that economic backwardness in the undeveloped countries was due to exploitation of the developed countries, changing the position within the world-system is rather difficult. Nevertheless, the peripheries in Asia managed to catch up to became NICs and made a transition to democracy, such as Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. In addition to the discourses of the East Asian Miracles, the influence of dependency and world-system theories is diminishing (see Bustelo 2000; Rodan et al. 2001; Stiglitz 1996; Wade 1990, 1993, 1998; World Bank 1993). In view of the above situation, the limitations of the theory have been highlighted by various scholars (see Harold 2005; Rodan et al. 2001; Smith 1981; McLaughlin and Hickling-Hudson 2005). More importantly, Wallerstein (2004) also acknowledged the limitations of the world-system analysis. In recent development, these approaches are mainly focused on issues related to economics and commodity chains (see Hout 2016: 33-36). Hence, due to the above reasons, the study on deviant autocracies will not be adopting the theoretical assumption of the Marxist approaches.

relationship between economic growth and democratisation (see Przeworski and Limongi 1993; Przeworski et al. 2000; Marsh 1988; Sirowy and Inkeles 1990) and that the linear relationship between the variables is questionable (Arat 1988). In response to these criticisms, Boix and Stokes (2003: 522) argue that Przeworski and Limongi (1997) only focus on a few cases, and that the case selection and analyses are biased. Based on detailed analysis of different time periods (1850-1924, inter-war period and 1945-1990), they find that economic development, especially among high income countries, is still a significant factor in explaining 'transition to democracy' and 'stable democracy'. Joining in the discussion, Epstein et al. (2006) use more rigorous statistical analysis to challenge the methodology and findings of Przeworski et al. (2000). Epstein et al. (2006) argue that Przeworski et al. 'mistakenly interpret their own estimates in a manner that predisposes them to reject the modernization hypothesis' (p. 551). Kennedy (2010: 790-797) has also conducted an analysis of 178 countries from 1816 to 2004 to show that the results of Przeworski et al. (2000) are 'misleading'. He concludes that 'the impact of economic development on democratization is significant, but it is conditional'.

The structural approach focuses mainly on economic development, but also acknowledges other factors that may affect the likelihood of transition to democracy. The approach has led to debates over which alternative factors have a positive or negative relationship with democratisation, such as whether countries rely on extraction of oil or mineral resources to sustain their economy (Amundsen 2014: 185; Barari 2015: 202; Bearce and Hutnick 2011: 706; Butcher 2014: 736; Crystal 1989: 430; Gurses 2009: 523; Liou and Musgrave 2014: 1604; Ross 2001; Rost and Booth 2008: 649; Ulflder 2007: 1012), British colonial rule (Barro 1999; Bernhard et al. 2004; Bollen and Jackman 1985: 41; Croissant 2004: 168-169; Rueschemeyer et al. 1992; Huntington 1991: 19; Jensen and Skaaning 2012: 1129; Lankina and Getachew 2012; Przeworski et al. 2000; Rost and Booth 2008: 649; Sing 1996), social inequality (Acemoglu and Robinson 2000, 2001 and 2006; Boix 2003, 2008; Haggard and Kaufman 2012: 495; Kuznets 1955; Przeworski 2009; Tudor 2013: 253-254), ethno-linguistic fractionalisation (Croissant 2004: 166-168; Dahl 1973; Jensen and Shaaning 2012; Rost and Booth 2008: 649), influence of the military (Haggard and Kaufman 2012:

496; Lee 2009: 662) and international factors, including diffusion via democratic neighbours (Colaresi and Thompson 2003: 383; Doorenspleet 2004: 328; Hawkins 2001: 447; Huntington 1991; Linz and Stepan 1996; Lipset 1994). These factors have been widely discussed, debated and tested by various scholars. Chapter 3 contains a detailed discussion of each of these factors, to determine their relevance to understanding deviant autocracies in Asia.

The other approach to understanding transition to democracy is the process-driven or actor-based approach. This approach is based on the four-volume work by O'Donnell, Schmitter and Whitehead (O'Donnell et al. 1986a, 1986b, 1986c; O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986), which studies transitions from authoritarian regimes to democracies in 13 countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela in Latin America and Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain and Turkey in Southern Europe. According to Diamond et al. (2014), this is 'the single most influential study of transitions' (p. 87).

This approach differs from the structural explanation in two ways. First, the research methodology of the actor-based approach mainly uses qualitative small-N analysis to explain the process of transition 'from an autocratic to a democratic regime' (Schmitter and Karl 1994: 173). Second, the actor-based approach emphasises interaction between elites and different major actors during the process of transition. Successful transition to democracy relies on interaction and bargaining between different actors, including incumbents (both hard-liners and soft-liners), military leaders and opposition leaders; the international context is also important in the process of transition (Schmitter 2010: 27). Schmitter (2010) refuses 'the notion that democracy requires some fixed set of economic or cultural prerequisites' and emphasises 'the key role of elite interaction and strategic choice during the transition' while giving 'limited importance to mass mobilization from below' (p. 23).

This approach manly focuses on successful cases of transition to democracy and how to sustain newly emerged democratic regimes (see Schneider and Schmitter 2004). The mode of transition, i.e. the outcome of interactions between actors, has a major influence on the demise of authoritarian regimes and establishment of

democratic institutions (see Karl 1990; Karl and Schmitter 1991; Munck and Leff 1997: 344; O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986). Different modes of transition may severely affect the resultant political system. For example, ''transition by pact' is the most likely to lead to political democracy' (Karl and Schmitter 1991: 282). As Schmitter (2010) explains, 'Pacts negotiated between old-regime elites and opposition groups do seem to have made a difference in the short to medium run, but their longer-term effect is more dubious' (p. 23).

The existing actor-based approach is limited in several ways. First, it neglects some important internal and external actors, including business and professional elites, and interactional actors that play a critical role in transition or non-transition to democracy. Second, there are limitations in the case selection and coverage. The actor-based approach is mainly based on successful cases, neglecting failed transitions to democracy (see Hawkins 2001: 441). Chapter 4 offers a comprehensive discussion of the existing actor-based approach, and develops a new analytical approach that extends the actor-based approach using elite theory and elite structural interaction to examine the intersection of internal and external elites. This approach to analysing the transitional period of deviant autocracies enables us to understand why outliers failed to transition to democracy and how autocratic ruling elites maintained their power in the first place.

Recent Developments in Democratisation Studies: Focus on Hybrid Regimes

Transitions from authoritarian regimes do not necessarily lead to democratic regimes; they can also result in hybrid regimes. Carothers (2002: 9-10) warns that many countries fail to establish democracy after transitioning from authoritarianism. We must pay more attention to the emerging pattern of countries that fall into the 'grey zone', stuck between democracy and authoritarianism. This type of hybrid regime is different from the traditional understanding of authoritarian regimes.

Indeed, the outcome of political transition is not necessarily a democratic regime, as Hadenius and Teorell (2007) illustrate by analysing the impact of countries' former regime type from 1972 to 2003. They demonstrate that the 'breakdown of an authoritarian regime does not necessarily signal the onset of democratic transformation' (p. 152). To address the issue of hybrid, 'grey zone' regimes, an increasing number of scholars have developed alternative categories, such as illiberal democracy (Zakaria 1997), electoral autocracy (Kailitz 2013), electoral authoritarianism (Schedler 2002), semi-authoritarianism (Ottaway 2003), soft authoritarianism (Means 1996) and competitive authoritarianism (Levitsky and Way 2002a, 2002b, 2010).

Hybrid regime differs from classical totalitarian and authoritarian regimes in several ways. According to Gerschewski (2013), the existing research on autocracy can be divided into three different periods: the 'totalitarianism paradigm' from the 1930s to 1960s, 'authoritarianism' in the 1960s to 1980s, and studies since the 1990s that form a 'renaissance in studies of autocracies' (pp. 14-18). The study of authoritarianism has focused on more complex cases since the 1960s, such as Linz (1964, 1975), who used Spain as his main case study, and O'Donnell (1979), who focused on 'bureaucratic authoritarianism' in Latin America to demonstrate the domination of military leaders in Argentina and Brazil. To justify the monopolisation of political power, authoritarian military rulers often promote economic prosperity and stability to attain support from the general public. Unlike totalitarian regimes, authoritarian regimes are less dependent on ideological indoctrination and rule by terror. Authoritarian regimes can enjoy both political domination and legitimacy. Legitimacy can be attained by strong government performance in terms of economic prosperity, harmony and social stability. This ruling strategy provides a valuable lesson for the new usurpers in how to establish a durable non-democratic regime.

To conceptualise hybrid regimes, Levitsky and Way (2002a) state that '[i]n competitive authoritarian regimes, formal democratic institutions are widely viewed as the principal means of obtaining and exercising political authority. Incumbents violate those rules so often and to such an extent, however, that the regime fails to meet conventional minimum standards for democracy' (p. 52). Rulers in hybrid

regimes rely on various measures to maintain the leadership. Most autocratic rulers or ruling parties rely on highly unbalanced elections to alleviate potential challenges from the opposition. This façade of competitive elections provides some kind of legitimation to the regime. A legislature with limited effective power serves as a rubber stamp for autocratic rulers. Some rulers even make use of the judiciary and restrictions on the media to maintain their power (see Gel'man 2014; Gilbert and Mohseni 2011; Levitsky and Way 2002a, 2010; McFaul and Petrov 2004; Menocal and Rakner 2008; Schedler 2002; Sznajder 1996; White 2013).

The literature on hybrid regimes has two major focuses. First, recent developments in the literature focus on conceptualizing 'autocracy' and the different types of authoritarian regime. Different types of political regime are classified (see Bogaards 2009; Cassani 2014; Cheibub et al. 2010; Geddes 1999; Gilbert and Mohseni 2011; Hadenius and Teorell 2007; Morlino 2009; Wahman et al. 2013; Wigell 2008). Based on existing categorisations, Kailitz (2013: 45) further proposes six types of autocracy: electoral autocracy, communist ideocracy, one-party autocracy, monarchy, military regime and personalist autocracy. This classification is helpful for scholars in differentiating between liberal democracy and pseudo democracy.

The second focus is on the problems or effects associated with hybrid regimes. Small-N or large-N analyses of hybrid regimes have been conducted (see Brownlee 2009; Ekman 2009; Kenyon and Naoi 2010; McMann 2006; Menocal and Rakner 2008; Wullery and Williamson 2016). For example, quantitative data from 1975 to 2004 suggest that electoral democracy will develop after the collapse of hybrid regimes (Brownlee 2009). In addition, the problems associated with hybrid regimes have been investigated, such as the negative impact on the population's health and regulatory and policy uncertainty (see Kenyon and Naoi 2010; Wullery and Williamson 2016).

In short, hybrid regimes are often regarded as synonymous with pseudo-democracy or semi-democracy. An increasing number of scholars have stressed the importance of hybrid regimes (see Diamond 2002; Schedler 2002, 2006; Levitsky and Way 2002a, 2010; McFaul 2002). In Asia, there are increasing numbers of hybrid regimes, in which elections are gerrymandered to favour the ruling party, discourage

challenges from the opposition and achieve landslide victories in elections. There have been extensive debates over hybrid regimes in Asia, seeking to explain their emergence and durability (see Case 1996, 2002, 2009b; Doner, Ritchie and Slater 2005; Jayasuriya and Rodan 2007; Means 1996; Nur-tegin and Czap 2012; Slater 2003, 2006; Thompson 2012).

2.2 A New Focus: Deviant Democracies and Persistent Autocracies

Deviant Democracies

What if countries experience democratisation but lack the favourable structural conditions? A specialized body of literature addresses this issue, and improves our theoretical and empirical understanding of those countries, which have been called 'deviant democracies' or 'anomalous democracies' (see Bull and Newell 1993, 2009; Doorenspleet 2012; Doorenspleet and Kopecký 2008; Doorenspleet, Kopecký and Mudde 2008; Seeberg 2010b, 2012, 2014a, 2014b; Veenendaal and Corbett 2015: 533-537). According to Seeberg (2014a), 'Deviant democracies may be broadly defined as societies that have maintained electoral democracy despite the absence of factors conducive to democracy' (p. 102). Similarly, Doorenspleet (2012) also defined deviant democracies as 'countries that have seemingly beaten the odds and successfully democratized within an unfavourable structural setting' (p. 190).

It is worth noting that the existence of deviant democracies is not a new phenomenon; it was simply overlooked by democratisation scholars. In the early 1990s, scholars were already aware of the existence of several Third World countries with low levels of economic development which nonetheless became democratic (see Fukuyama 1992: 104; Lipset 1994: 16). Nevertheless, these outliers have been largely ignored, and studies have not analysed such cases systematically.

To address the issue of deviant democracies, a systematic, mixed method approach was used by Doorenspleet and Kopecký to examine Costa Rica, India, Botswana, Benin and Mongolia in a special issue of *Democratization* in 2008. Doorenspleet and Kopecký (2008) set a new research agenda for democratisation studies, and more importantly, they coined the term 'deviant democracies' to signifying the outliers. They suggested that

> On the basis of such quantitative research, it appears that both economic development and democratic diffusion play a role during the phases of transition and consolidation… other factors such as class structure, economic dependency, and political culture explain processes of democratization to some extent as well… a small-N qualitative analysis, as will be done in each of the following country articles… each case analysis is geared towards detecting important variables that can explain the unexpected transition to and consolidation of democracy (p. 709).

In this project, Doorenspleet, Kopecký and Mudde (2008) found seven major factors contributing to democratic transitions among deviant democracies: 1) political elites (Booth 2008; Fritz 2008; Gisselquist 2008; Good and Taylor 2008; McMillan 2008); 2) the emergence of a middle class (Booth 2008); 3) the role of external powers (Booth 2008; Fritz 2008; Gisselquist 2008); 4) the absence of obstacles to transition, such as an ethnically non-homogenous population, lack of national identity, or the existence of a secession movement (Fritz 2008); 5) cultural factors, especially religious belief (Fritz 2008); 6) an economic crisis weakening the previous regime (Gisselquist 2008); 7) lack of military influence (Good and Taylor 2008; McMillan 2008). Doorenspleet (2012) summarises various domestic and external factors affecting deviant democracies. Domestic factors include the dynamics of elites (including political elites), the military, civil society and high ethnic fragmentation. External factors include former colonisers, regional hegemons and external shocks.

Yet scholars disagree about which cases are deviant democracies (see Seeberg 2014b: 635). In a small-N qualitative analysis, Costa Rica, India, Botswana, Benin and

Mongolia have been identified as deviant democracies (see Doorenspleet 2012: 194-198; Doorenspleet and Kopecký 2008). A large-N analysis in contrast has given a list of deviant democracies that is slightly different. Seeberg (2010b) used structural variables of economic development to identify a list of outliers, using nested analysis to explain deviant democracies. In recent years, Seeberg (2014a) has conducted a quantitative study to map anomalous democracies in the Cold War period. Eleven cases have been identified as deviant democracies: Bolivia, Botswana, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, India, Jamaica, Mauritius, Trinidad and Tobago, and Turkey from 1975 to 1988. Seeberg (2014b: 635) then used neighbour diffusion, economic development and the modernisation thesis together with other structural variables (Muslim majority, resource reliance, ethnic fractionalisation and being a former British colony) to identify deviant democracies. He further maps 12 cases of deviant democracies from 1993 to 2008: Central Africa, Republic, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Mongolia, Niger, Senegal, Trinidad and Tobago, and Turkey.

The factors and analyses developed to identify deviant democracies provide a good foundation for future studies of the other type of outlier, deviant autocracies: countries favourable structural settings which failed to make a transition to democracy. It is still unclear which countries can be classified as deviant autocracies, and hence that is one of the main tasks of the next chapter. The literature on deviant democracies provides important insights and methods for identifying deviant democracies, which can also help in identifying deviant autocracies (see Seeberg 2014a: 106-107). To explain deviant autocracies, however, the literature on deviant democracies is less useful, and hence I need a different theoretical framework (see Chapter 4).

The Persistence of Autocracy

To understand deviant autocracies, it is also important to learn from studies on autocracy and how authoritarian leaders maintain their power. According to Gerschewaki (2013),

> Broadly speaking, three research waves can be identified: the totalitarianism paradigm until the mid-1960s that highlighted ideology and terror; the rise of authoritarianism until the 1980s that placed more emphasis on socio-economic factors; and, starting with Geddes' seminal article in 1999, a renaissance of autocracy research that centred mostly on strategic repression and co-optation (p. 14).

To sum up, it is commonly agreed that factors including legitimation, repression and co-optation can help us understand autocracies' stability (see Anderson, Møller, Rørbæk and Skaaning 2014; Gerschewski 2013: 17; Köllner and Kailitz 2013: 1).

Autocratic leaders rely mainly on institutional arrangements and government performance to attain legitimacy. Existing studies of autocratic stability suggest that constitutions in authoritarian regimes usually establish some pseudo-democratic institutions, such as party politics and an electoral system, to enhance regime durability (see Gandhi 2008; Gandhi and Przeworski 2007; Magaloni 2008; Schedler 2002; Wright 2008; Wright and Escribà-Folch 2011). Magaloni (2008) has clarified that '[a] reason why dictators aspire to win supermajorities is that this allows them to project an image of invincibility and strength… Citizens are likely to despise the autocrat who is not a benevolent dictator that can promote economic growth, invest in public goods, and make everyone prosper' (p. 729). Indeed, autocratic regimes also make substantial expenditures on education and the public good to pacify citizens (see Gandhi 2002). Economic reform and performance can also help the ruling elite to attain legitimacy and protect their political power (see Breslin 1996: 692-693, 2008: 7).

In addition, studies also outline different legislative arrangements in authoritarian regimes, and their impact on economic growth in single-party, military, personalist and monarchical regimes (see Wright and Escribà-Folch 2011). For

example, ‘regimes which depend on domestic investment (or loans) to grow the economy create and maintain political institutions that not only help them rule, but do so by credibly binding their own power… Regimes that are largely dependent on “unearned” income from sources such as natural resource rents and foreign aid, however, do not necessarily have an incentive to create and maintain institutions that constrain their power, because they are less dependent on the productive resources of the economy’ (Wright 2008: 323). It is worth noting that dictators in electoral autocracies pay a price for introducing elections, as this increases the number of protests organised by the opposition before the election. In addition, members of the opposition may formulate socio-electoral coalitions with each other during social movements against the incumbent (Trejo 2014).

In any case, the literature on autocracy shows that autocratic rulers manipulate various channels to obtain legitimacy and consolidate power. It is thus important to study how professional elites come to power in the case of deviant autocracies such as Singapore and Hong Kong, establishing a political structure that includes a semblance of multi-party competition.

Another strategy commonly used by autocratic leaders to consolidate power is repression: the use of measures to control political parties, legislatures, and elections (see Gandhi 2008; Svolik 2009; Boix 2003; Gandhi 2002; Gandhi and Przeworski 2006; Przeworski et al. 2000). The opposition under these measures has difficulty fighting against the authoritarian regime. Greene (2010) for instance explains how the authoritarian party can dominate elections by monopolising public resources. The ‘dominant parties can transform public resources into patronage goods and illicit funds for partisan campaigning that allow them to buy votes, outspend the opposition at every turn, and make otherwise meaningful elections unfair’ (p. 828). In addition, ruling elites such as military leaders can be given veto power via manipulation of the constitution, effectively counteracting the opposition or civilian government (see North and Weingast 1989; Wright 2008).

The most effective factor in maintaining autocratic stability is co-optation between elites. Power sharing among the ruling coalition in autocratic regimes is vital

for stability (Magaloni 2008). A coalition can also be formed between the dictator and potential opposition forces (Gandhi and Przeworski 2006). Power sharing can be political, social or economic. Political institutions can be used by the ruler to cater to the interests of different elites (see Wright and Escribà-Folch 2011: 284). According to Gandhi and Przeworski (2007), '[w]e focus on the ruler's use of legislatures to solicit cooperation and to neutralize the threat of rebellion from forces within society' (p. 1280). In the context of China, Breslin (2008) argues the new middle class are 'civil servants who benefit from the continued existence of authoritarian state power' (p. 9). In addition, Albertus and Menaldo (2012b) conduct a quantitative analysis to evaluate the situation in Latin America from 1950 to 2002. They find that regime durability is positively correlated to the introduction of a new constitution immediately after the autocratic leader seizes power. The new constitution serves to secure the political and economic interests of factions within the ruling elite.

In terms of social and economic interests, Wantchekon (2002) argues that in autocracy, economic cooperation between rulers and elites is common to secure their loyalty. In the same vein, Gandhi and Przeworski (2007) state that the 'spoils available for distribution—monetary rewards, perks, and privileges—increase when more people cooperate with the regime' (p. 1281). This strategy is commonly used by autocratic rulers in different regions. Albertus and Menaldo (2012c) analyse competition between the ruling elites and economic elites in Mexico from 1911 to 2000. They find that expropriation was used to disempower the old economic elites, which in turn helped create a new economic elite loyal to the autocratic incumbent. In East Asia, crony capitalism is considered a key for economic success. According to Kang (2003), '[b]y examining corruption and cronyism through the lens of transition costs, it can be shown a particular set of government-business relations, although corrupt, also lowered transaction costs and made investment more credible' (p. 439). The question of whether patronage and clientelism sustain autocracy has been extensively discussed in the studies of autocracy in different regions (see Barari 2015: 108; Bellin 2004; Bratton and van de Walle 1997; Brownlee 2002; Charrad and Adams 2011; Seeberg 2013: 39).

Autocratic diffusion is another factor often used to explain the persistence of autocracy. As with democratic diffusion, there are mixed arguments concerning autocratic diffusion (see von Soest 2015). Using the examples of China and Russia for illustration, 'authoritarian regional powers have an interest in being surrounded by other autocratic regimes because they gain from similar incentive systems in their regional proximity' (Bader, Grävingholt and Kästner 2010: 96). However, the latest studies show that co-optation between autocratic regimes in the international community is difficult. Tansey (2016) has clarified the problem of autocracy promotion: 'I have argued that in order for the idea of autocracy promotion to be useful, it must apply only to those cases where there is a clear intention to promote autocracy as a regime type, based in significant part on an ideological commitment to authoritarianism itself' (p. 155). More importantly, the foreign policy of autocratic regimes is not currently ideologically driven for the most part. The foreign policy of Russia toward Ukraine, for example, is driven more by pragmatism rather than the desire to promote autocracy: the ruler and ruling coalition are more concerned about their interests in gas contracts (see Obydenkova and Libman 2014).

To sum up, autocratic leaders use multiple strategies to consolidate their power. I must clarify that the traditional way of understanding the emergence and maintenance of autocracies is useful and important, but additional tools are needed to explain deviant autocracies (see Chapter 4). The previous approaches described above mainly explain how authoritarian regimes justify their authoritarian ruling style with elections and high levels of government performance to attain legitimacy, and how they use certain strategies (e.g. oppression and co-optation of the opposition) to maintain their authoritarian power. In deviant autocracies, there is a significant group of professional and highly educated citizens who support democracy and embrace civil liberties (see Dahl 1973: 124 and Huntington 1991: 69). In addition, the structural approach would predict the emergence of democracy, as these countries have high levels of socio-economic development. The puzzle of deviant autocracies is therefore as follows: how do ruling elites monopolise power and prevent democratisation in a country with a relatively high level of socio-economic development? Chapters 5 and 6 focus on case studies of Singapore and Hong Kong; specifically, an analysis of empirical

evidence shows how the internal and external elites' co-optation and bargaining processes during the transitional period played a crucial role in preventing transitions to democracy.

2.3 The Focus of my Thesis: The Puzzle of Deviant Autocracies

It is clear after reviewing the recent literature on deviant democracies and persistent autocracies that one area deserves more attention: deviant autocracies. In recent years, an increasing number of scholars have emphasised the importance of studying deviant autocracies (see e.g. Doorenspleet 2012: 202; Seeberg 2014b: 648), but there are still few studies which explain these cases.

This section starts with a conceptualisation of deviant autocracies and how it relates with the existing literature on democratisation. Second, I give an overview of cases that can be categorised as deviant autocracies based on previous studies; later, Chapter 3 identifies outliers or deviant autocracies in a more systematic way, based on large-N quantitative analyses. I also review previous studies' attempts to identify and understand deviant autocracies.

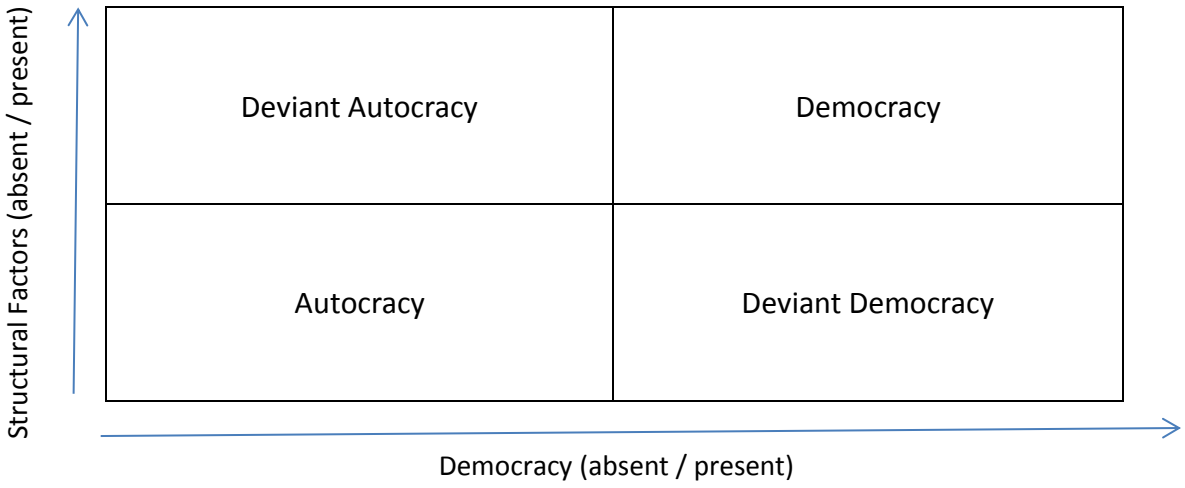
In my view, studying deviant autocracies is a logical step in the field of democratisation and autocracy studies. Studies of democracy in the 1950s mainly focused on democratic consolidation among Western countries, which already had a long history of practicing democracy; structural factors, especially a high level of economic development, were identified as prerequisites for sustaining democracy. From the 1970s onward, a significant number of countries experienced democratisation, which encouraged scholars to study the factors leading to transitions to democracy. The structural approach still finds a robust relationship between high level of economic development and democracy. Yet in the process of transition, many cases did not have favourable structural conditions and failed to establish a

democratic system after a transition from authoritarianism. The literature on hybrid regimes mainly focuses on such cases.

More recently, democratisation studies have begun to focus on deviant democracies: countries which sustain a democratic system even with a low level of favourable structural conditions. In addition, the renaissance of autocracy research has highlighted how autocratic leaders make use of different strategies to increase their hold on power. However, the strategies adopted by military or personalist autocratic regimes in countries with low levels of socio-economic development are fundamentally different from those used in countries with high levels of socio-economic development, because there are different major stakeholders in society. Hence, there is a clear gap in the literature, and few studies try to explain why countries with favourable structural conditions fail to transition to democracy. Although there are some excellent case studies (Sing 1996, 2004; So 2000; and Myhre 2010), there is certainly no comparative research yet, focusing specifically on this question.

In short, two crucial factors distinguish deviant autocracies from other types of regime: favourable structural factors (which can be absent or present) and democracy (which can be absent or present). Figure 2.1 shows the typology of deviant autocracy in relation to autocracy, democracy and deviant democracy.

Figure 2.1: Typology of Regimes, Based on Structural Factors (IV) and Democracy (DV)



Let us look briefly at potential candidates for deviant autocracies (note that the next chapter identifies them more rigorously). Using data from the Human Development Indicator developed by the United Nations (United Nations Development Programme 2015), we can show that Bahrain, Brunei, Hong Kong, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore and the United Arab Emirates are examples of high-income countries with high levels of social and economic development. At the same time, these high-income countries are categorised as non-democratic regimes (Freedom House 2014; Marshall, Jaggers and Gurr 2013). To highlight the importance of studying and understanding deviant autocracies, I would emphasise the findings of Barro's study (1996), which tried to forecast transitions to democracy; Barro predicted that Hong Kong and Singapore would become fully democratic by the year 2000. In explanation, he stated that '[e]xpectations for large increases in democracy also apply to some reasonably prosperous places with some political rights in which the measured level of rights lags behind the standard of living. As examples, Singapore is projected to increase its democracy index from 0.33 in 1994 to 0.64 in 2000' (pp. 21-23). The actual history of Hong Kong and Singapore has proven his prediction false. Table 2.1 compares the potential deviant autocracies Hong Kong and Singapore with consolidated democracies. The figures show that these two cases are on par with developed societies like the United Kingdom and United States in terms of socio-economic development.

Table 2.1: Socio-economic conditions among different societies

Country	Life Expectancy at Birth	Mean Years of Schooling	Expected Years of Schooling	Gross National Income per Capita
France	82.2	11.1	16.0	38,056
Hong Kong	84.0	11.2	15.6	53,959
Singapore	83.0	10.6	15.4	76,628
United Kingdom	80.7	13.1	16.2	39,267
United States	79.1	12.9	16.5	52,947

Source: United Nations Development Programme (2015: 208)

Like deviant democracies, deviant autocracies are not a new phenomenon. The existing studies have simply ignored them. For example, Diamond (2012) claims that Singapore is 'the most economically developed nondemocracy in the history of the world' (p. 7). In the early 1990s, Lipset et al. (1993) revealed that '[s]ome countries with outstanding economic growth records remained staunchly authoritarian, e.g. Brazil, Spain, the Republic of Korea, Taiwan, etc.' (p. 155). Lipset and his colleagues were fully aware of cases which did not fit into their theory, but did not offer an explanation for this.

Another interesting feature of deviant autocracies is the general lack of quantifiable, comparative data. Cross-national studies on democratisation, especially quantitative ones, heavily rely on existing databases such as the World Bank, United Nations and Freedom House and Polity project to provide indicators for statistical analysis and hypothesis testing. Small states or territories are neglected and data from them is omitted from the dataset, because it is argued that small countries have a higher propensity to democratise (Seeberg 2014b: 636). Due to limited availability of data, most existing cross country studies (such as Barro 1996; Cutright 1963; Cutright and Wiley 1969; Lipset 1959; Lipset 1994; Lipset et al. 1993; Narayan and Smyth 2010; Ravich 2000; Rostow 1960) have ignored anomalous cases or simply do not include them in their analysis models. The city-states of Hong Kong and Singapore, for instance, have always been overlooked in large-N analyses.

Still, some scholars have tried to identify and understand anomalous cases. According to Sing (1996: 344), 'on the basis of economic development alone, Hong Kong and Singapore appear as the sole anomalies'. To explain the situation of Hong Kong, Sing (1996: 351-355) argued that several factors contributed to the absent of democratisation in Hong Kong, including China's opposition in the 1980s, the weakness of the pro-democracy movement, the government's strong performance and relatively lack of corruption, and the co-optation of business elites into government decision-making and consultative bodies. Yet this explanation neglects the most important external actor, Britain, the colonial master that played a major role in establishing institutions and norms favourable to the development of democracy. Sing (1996) stated, 'Hong Kong has been a British colony for over 140 years, pervaded in that time by British ideas of the rule of law and procedural justice' (p. 344). Also, '[i]t had been British policy gradually to democratize Hong Kong after the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984, preparing the way for an honourable retreat' (Sing 1996: 354). Nevertheless, the negotiations between China and Britain about the future of Hong Kong were secret at the time this analysis was made. To fully understand deviant autocracies, we need to consider elite structural interaction, including how ruling elites acquire coercive state capacity in the process of transition and how internal and external elites interact to shape the resultant system.

Recently, Seeberg (2012: 29) has tried to map 'anomalous autocracies' using large-N analyses. This mapping focuses on 1993 to 2008, and only uses diffusion via democratic neighbour countries as an independent variable. This analysis underestimates the importance of other dependent variables, such as economic development level, oil production and country size. Hence, his analysis identified some controversial cases such as North Korea and China as anomalous autocracies, unlike the conceptualisation of deviant autocracies proposed in this thesis.

In addition to economic development, countries reliant on the export of raw materials and small states should not be excluded when identifying deviant autocracies. With regard to high income countries in Middle East that deviate from the structural analysis, some scholars use the oil production explanation to argue that the social structures and values have not undergone significant changes, and hence

pressure for democratisation is low (see Barari 2015: 102; Sing 1996: 344). Nevertheless, many large-N studies show that oil producing countries can easily be democratic (see Ahmadov 2013; Bearce and Hutnick 2011: 706; Butcher 2014: 736; Gurses 2009: 523, 2011: 173; Liou and Musgrave 2014: 1604). In other words, oil producing countries should not be neglected.

In addition, with regard to small countries or city-states, it is unwise to exclude outliers such as Hong Kong, Macau and Brunei. Apparently Seeberg (2012) overlooked the literature on democratisation that I reviewed in this chapter. Social economic development is indeed an important structural factor in explaining democratic consolidation in the 1950s and transition to democracy from the 1970s onward. Hence, the list that Seeberg (2012) proposed is quite controversial; he categorised Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, China, Cuba, North Korea, Peru, Singapore, Swaziland, Togo and Zimbabwe as anomalous autocracies. It is debatable to categorise North Korea as a deviant autocracy, for example, given its low level of development in terms of structural factors. There is a detailed discussion in the next chapter on how to properly identify deviant autocracies with large-N quantitative analysis.

In other words, while studies have focused on deviant autocracies, it is still a very small field. The next chapter shows that the number of deviant autocracies has increased over time, and hence the study of them has become more important. These under-studied cases should be analysed critically and systematically; a new analytical framework is thus needed to help understand the phenomenon. According to Doorenspleet (2012: 202), studying 'deviant autocracies' can explain why autocratic regimes continue even in societies experiencing a high level of economic development; in turn this may help us to understand more about the process of democratisation.

Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has summarised the key debates and developments in the field of democracy and democratisation.

In the 1950s and 1960s, scholars were mainly concerned about the durability of democracies, particularly in Western Europe and Northern America. At the same time, the U.S. government began actively promoting democracy all over the world (see Carothers 1999) to counteract the influence of communism. From the 1970s onward, more and more countries make transitions to democracy. Some successfully established a genuine, consolidated democracy, but some still remained authoritarian or became hybrid, 'grey zone' regimes. This political reality contributed to the development of the literature on transitions to democracy and hybrid regimes.

The idea of studying deviant autocracies is inspired by recent studies of both deviant democracies and of the durability of autocratic regimes. The literature on deviant democracies mainly addresses the issue of countries that transitioned successfully to democracy despite unfavourable structural conditions. A number of excellent studies have examined such outliers using small-N qualitative or large-N quantitative analysis to identify and identify explanatory factors. They provide a strong foundation for the study of the other type of outlier, i.e. deviant autocracies. Studies of the durability of autocratic regimes have mainly analysed cases in which structural factors favouring sustained autocratic government are absent. They help us to answer several important research questions, such as how authoritarian leaders consolidate their power. Yet the autocratic regimes analysed in this area of the literature differs conceptually from deviant autocracies.

The deviant autocracies highlighted in this thesis are societies possessing a high level of socio-economic development. This flies in the face of the central idea of the structural explanation, that economic development is positively related to democracy. Deviant autocracies thus point to a gap in studies of democratisation and persistent autocracies. The literature review in this chapter has shown that deviant autocracies have been understudied so far. In my view, understanding deviant autocracies is very important, particularly as the number of cases seems to have increased (see next chapter). Understanding the phenomenon of deviant autocracies also has great theoretical significance for the study of democratisation. Hence, we need to improve our empirical knowledge of those cases.

When proposing a study of deviant autocracies, two questions may be asked. First, why should we bother with outliers? As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, the study of democracy and democratisation has changed focus from normative and analytical studies to empirical studies. I agree with the observation of Diamond et al. (2014):

> It is a kind of standard story in social science: Someone identifies a pattern or two associated with a phenomenon, others glom onto it, and then it's discovered that the pattern is not universal. This shouldn't shock us, because it is so common, but it doesn't make the ideas utterly worthless. There are various paths to democracy, and it's worth trying to identify them (p. 89).

Indeed, the structural explanation of democratisation has dominated the field since the 1950s. A significant amount of empirical large-N quantitative analysis shows that economic development is an important independent variable in accounting for the consolidation of and transition to democracy. But the data in the next chapter show that this pattern is no longer universal; an increasing number of outliers that have emerged in recent decades deserve our attention.

The second question is related to how to define autocracy. Autocracy is the antonym of democracy. I concur with the idea that an undemocratic regime can be categorised as an autocracy (Møller and Skanning 2013b: 45). To identify autocracy, it is beneficial to understand the typology of democratic political regimes. Møller and Skanning (2013b: 43) use four criteria (competitive elections; free, inclusive elections; political liberty; and the rule of law) to categorise different sub-types of democracy, namely minimalist democracy, electoral democracy, polyarchy and liberal democracy. Classifying autocratic regimes is straightforward based on the definition of minimalist democracy, which emphasises one basic criterion, competitive elections. To fulfil the minimalist standard, elections must be provide genuine choice to voters, without government intervention or manipulation of the electoral law by incumbents. In the case of Singapore, for example, the government allows periodic elections, but because it does not fulfil the minimal standard of democracy, Møller and Skanning (2013b) still categorise Singapore as an autocracy.

The next chapter provides a more detailed conceptualisation of democracy versus non-democracy, and the major structural factors identifying deviant autocracies. Large-N quantitative analyses are used to evaluate the most important factors in regime change. The most significant predictor is then used to identify outliers or deviant autocracies since the 1960s. I also provide a list of cases that will be analysed further – in qualitative research – in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 3: Making the Empirical Case for Deviant Autocracies: Large-N Analyses

Introduction

The study of political systems – in particular the study of democracy and autocracy - is a core concern within comparative politics. The previous chapter discussed the existing literature and the key debates in this field. It showed that so far previous studies have mainly focused on transition to democracy, democratic consolidation and autocratic consolidation, while the issue of democratic non-transition among the deviant autocracies - in Asia and elsewhere - has rarely been discussed (see for exceptions, though, Doorenspleet 2012: 202; Seeberg 2014b: 648, and see previous chapter). This chapter fills this gap by highlighting the empirical case for deviant autocracies with large-N analyses. Given the robust explanatory power of the structural explanations of the effect of economic development on democratisation, the increasing number of outliers posits a critical challenge to this influential theoretical approach. The first type of outlier, deviant democracies, has already been vividly discussed in recent literature (see Chapter 2); however, the second type, deviant autocracies, has been rarely studied (Seeberg 2012; Sing 1996) and in my view they deserve much more attention in order to synergise the studies on transition to democracy, hybrid regime and autocratic consolidation.

This chapter uses large-N analyses to re-test the major tenet of the structural explanations, and hence focuses specifically on the effect of economic development on democracy. The data set is based on a self-compiled data set from the latest notable international databases, covering 167 countries in the world from 1960 to 2011, including small cases in Asia that are usually ignored or excluded in previous

quantitative studies. In general, there are two major reasons why previous studies have ignored such cases in Asia. First, the cases do not fit into the existing theoretical explanation, and ignoring outliers in quantitative analysis can sometimes increase the explanatory power of the theory (see Bollen and Jackman 1990: 190; Cook 1979). Moreover, the main task of large-N quantitative studies is to find general patterns, and hence those studies are not particularly interested in a detailed in-depth study of those outliers. Second, some databases intentionally exclude small states and disputed territories, such as Hong Kong, Macau and Brunei (Marshall et al. 2013: 1). Including such cases in the analysis requires tremendous effort by the researcher in the process of data mining and coding with various reliable sources, and in accordance with the original coding criteria. The effort is worthwhile, as the latest data set can enable us to verify whether economic development still is an important factor in explaining democratisation. In addition, it can also detect the number of deviant autocracies over the past few decades. Especially if there is an increasing number of deviant autocracies in Asia, it is sensible to examine this phenomenon carefully to enhance knowledge not only about transition to democracy, but also non-transition to democracy as will be shown later in this chapter, there are more and more deviant autocracies, which makes a study of this phenomenon more relevant, interesting and important.

This chapter begins with the important question of how to define autocracy and democracy. There are different ways and approaches to define those concepts. Each approach is crucial for understanding different issues related to democracy, democratisation and autocracy. This chapter will rely on a very minimalistic procedural Schumpeterian notion of democracy to understand transition to democracy and to explain the increasing number of deviant autocracies.

The second section provides a brief overview of the major tenets of the structural explanations of democratisation. The contextual and intervening factors, both internal and external, which may elucidate transition to democracy are carefully scrutinised to shed light on the puzzle related to the emergence of deviant autocracies. The discussion covers variables such as economic development, social homogeneity, military influence, oil production, religious belief and external factors, such as

economic aid, number of democratic countries in the nearby area and colonial influence.

The findings in the third section suggest that there is a robust significant positive relationship between economic development and democracy among 'normal' cases. The data also suggest that economic development still remains the strongest predictor for explaining democracy and non-democracy in the period 1960 to 2010.

The final part detects the main outliers with statistical analyses. The empirical data show that since the 1970s, there has been an increasing number of deviant autocracies, including Bahrain, Brunei, Equatorial Guinea, Hong Kong, Kuwait, Macau, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore and the United Arab Emirates. The existence of deviant autocracies deserves more attention, both because we would like to understand these cases, and because they can help us to improve our existing theoretical knowledge of democratisation.

3.1 Defining Democracy and Autocracy

Mapping out deviant autocracies requires a clear definition of democracy and autocracy. What do I mean by those concepts in my thesis? The study and conceptualisation of autocracy can be characterised by a relatively long history. The way how autocracy scholars conceptualise the meaning of autocracy depends on how the world has been changed. There has been extensive discussion on despotism in premodern time (see Andrews 1967; Barrell 2006; Gershoy 1944; Krieger 1975; Runes 1963; Wittfogel 1957). In addition, the study of totalitarian regime was provoked in the 1930s to 1960s, the totalitarian regime has been conceptualised to involve highly organised in a hierarchical, more precisely, under the leadership of a leading figure with power to get access to all levels of arenas in the society. Essentially, six features are being identified that associated with totalitarian states, including ideology, mass party, terror system, monopoly of mass communication, monopoly of force and state-run economy (see Friedrich and Brzezinski 1968; Gerschewski 2013:15; Linz 1964,

1975, 2000). However, when despotism and totalitarian regimes vanished, there are new types of non-democratic regimes emerged and cannot fit well into the existing typology.

To define autocracy, it is simply regarded as the antonym of democracy. Moller and Skanning (2013) urged that 'we call all instances of undemocratic regimes autocracies" (p. 45). The differences of the existing literature on autocracy research mainly on how to categorise non-democratic regimes. Indeed, autocracy scholars tend to adopt taxonomic approach to group regimes into typologies (see Linz 2000: 7). Scholars have many concerns about the emergence of electoral competitive authoritarian regimes (see Brumberg 2002; Bunce and Wolchik 2010; Diamond 2002; Schedler 2002, 2006; Levitsky and Way 2002a, 2010; Ortmann 2014b; Wong 2014). This type of regime generally relies on highly controlled and monopolised elections to create a myth that the autocratic ruling party or leader attained legitimation from the voters.

Another group of scholars continued to refine the criteria of the typologies to fit in the variations of the model autocratic regimes. The typology of autocracies include authoritarian, military rule, monarchies, personalist rule, post-totalitarian, single-party rule, sultanistic and totalitarian, etc. (see Cheibub et al. 2010; Geddes 1999; Hadenius and Teorell 2007; Linz and Stepan 1996; Wahman, Teorell and Hadenius 2013). In recent years, Kailitz (2013: 45) attempted to summarise the typologies into six types, namely electoral autocracy, communist ideocracy, one-party autocracy, monarchy, military regime and personalist autocracy.

In short, all sub-type of autocracies can be regarded as non-democratic. This thesis is not trying to develop a new subtype of autocracies. The meaning of deviant autocracies as discussed in the previous chapter is a theoretical puzzle, derived from the theories of democratization and their empirical evidence. It refers to the cases with strong structural conditions but still under a non-democratic regime. In other words, countries with low levels of economic development, such as China and North Korea cannot be categorised as deviant autocracies. To identify the deviant

autocracies, it is very important to conceptualise and operationalise the meaning of democracy (and consequently, autocracy as well)

Democracy is an abstract concept that makes studying the process of democratisation a challenging task for students of comparative politics. The situation is even more complicated as there is always a gap between theories of democracy and theories of democratisation. Allison (1994) acutely highlighted this issue by saying 'the democratisation crowd are empirical students of politics while the democracy gang are political theorists or philosophers' (p. 9). Indeed, the latter group generally has conceptualised theories of democracy in a normative way (see Fung 2007: 443; Rawls 1971: 122). For example, Rawls (1993) uses his theory of justice to conceptualise democracy in two levels:

> at the most basic level… of the fundamental ideas of a democratic society as a fair system of cooperation between citizens as free and equal… in the second stage, we know on the basis of general facts and the historical condition of the age that a conception of political justice leading to free institutions must be acceptable to a plurality of opposing comprehensive doctrines. That conception must, therefore, present itself as independent of any particular comprehensive view and must firmly guarantee for all citizens the basic rights and liberties as a condition of their sense of security and their peaceful, mutual recognition (pp. 260-261).

The above argument is interesting to understand the meaning of democracy, but the idea can hardly be operationalised for large-N analyses. Hence, from the perspective of empiricists who are concerned about the causal mechanisms of democratisation, those normative definitions are not very useful.

Another problem associated with the definition of democracy is caused by the existence of hybrid regimes, which emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, as discussed in Chapter 2. To capture the nature of different types of regime, scholars have frequently used 'democracy with adjectives' (Collier and Levitsky 1997). Sub-types include 'non-western democracy' (Youngs 2015), 'deliberative democracy' (Dryzek 2009: 1380; Wilson 2011), 'formal democracy' (Huber et al. 1997: 324), 'delegative democracy' (O'Donnell 1994: 59-60), 'defective democracy' (Bogaards 2009) and 'managed democracy' (Krastev and Holmes 2012). The existing literature also creates different

typologies to categorise different regimes (Collier and Levitsky 1997; Møller and Skaaning 2013a: 144, 2013b; Wigell 2008). To support the idea of creating sub-types, one may argue that '[s]imply classifying regimes as either democratic or non-democratic (or authoritarian) has become too parsimonious' (Wigell 2008: 233).

If we insist on using sub-types and inventing new adjectives to explain and understand issues related to democratisation in different regimes, there are, however, at least three major consequences First, there are only a few cases in the world that can be truly categorised as democracies by strict definition (see Diamond 2002: 22; Levitsky and Way 2002a: 53). This classification exercise is endless when scholars suggest different sub-types, and even propose further levels of subordinate (i.e. sub-types of sub-types) regime. The use of sub-types is discouraged because 'different terms are merely synonyms for each other' (Allison 1994: 13). Second, such sub-types further reinforce the tendency of non-democratic regime leaders to manipulate election arrangements and political institutions to pay lip service to democratic principles; the Singapore and Chinese governments are cases in point (see Diamond 2002: 23; He 2009; He and Leib, 2006: 8). Finally, creating more categories or sub-types merely transforms democracy to countless nominal variables, which is not beneficial for large-N and small-N analysis. I wish to clarify that this thesis is not an attempt to create a sub-type for democracy or autocracy. The term deviant autocracy, as discussed in Chapter 2, merely refers to the empirical puzzle in relation to the democratisation studies literature and the large N analysis conducted in this chapter.

One of the purposes of this chapter is to map out deviant autocracies. It is therefore more important here to operationalise democracy than to engage with the debate on scientific or normative ways to define democracy. The existing literature contains hundreds of subtypes of democracy (Collier and Levitsky 1997: 431). Storm (2008) accurately pointed out the problem: '[w]ith hundreds of different definitions of democracy in use today, it has become almost impossible to gauge what is meant by the term when it is applied in the academic literature, unless, that is, the author specifies exactly what democracy denotes in the publication in question' (p. 215). Defining the meaning of democracy is crucial for elaborating what is and is not democracy (Schmitter and Karl 1991). Implicitly or explicitly, most scholars of

democracy have referred to representative democracy, i.e. the rulers and representatives are elected through competition in elections (Fung 2007: 449; Merkel 1998: 34; Schmitter 2015: 35-36; Schmitter and Karl 1991), the differences mainly resting on the length of the criteria checklist.

To define democracy, Huntington (1991) stipulated a very good operational definition of a democracy as a country where 'its most powerful collective decision makers are selected through fair, honest, and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible for vote' (pp. 6-7). To conceptualise democracy, there is a well-established and recognised definition of democracy, i.e. a minimalist standard, emphasising contestation and participation in electing representatives and rulers (see Posner 2003; Przeworski 1999; Riker 1982; Schumpeter 1950: 269). More importantly, the minimalist definition of democracy has been widely adopted in quantitative studies so far (Boix et al. 2012; Doorenspleet 2004: 321).

An alternative but controversial way to define democracy is the substantive approach (see Sen 2001: 10). Going beyond the minimal approach, its advocates to take other economic and social rights in the countries into account when conceptualising democracy (Spicker 2008), including entitlement to avoid poverty (Sen and Drèze 1989), labour rights (Baldwin 1990) and welfare provision (Ploug and Kvist 1994). The substantive approach can be problematic when it comes to measurement; for example, Skaaning et al. (2015: 1500) introduced a lexical index to measure democracy, which features male and female suffrage as major indicators. Yet, if a country lack of female politicians running for election that may severely affect its level of democracy. The exhaustive list has merely led to a situation in which 'an unprecedented proportion of the world's countries—has the form of electoral democracy but fails to meet the substantive test' (Diamond 2002: 22). Not surprisingly, Schedler (1998) complained that the 'conditions of democratic consolidation' have been unreasonably and causally expanded by the scholars (p. 91-92). The substantive approach I would say is suitable for scholars concerned with democratic consolidation and quality of democracy (see Diamond and Morlino 2004), but less relevant for understanding non-transition to democracy.

In addition, there has been discussion around the thickness of conceptions of democracy (see Coppedge 1999; Møller and Skaaning 2010). This debate on thin (minimal) and thick (substantive) views of democracy is only relevant to cases of democratic transition, so again it is less relevant for the deviant autocracies discussed in this thesis in which there is no transition to democracy. But the discussion provides insight for us to consider which view of democracy should be adopted when measuring and mapping out the deviant autocracies. The minimalist approach is far from perfect, especially when explaining transition to democracy or democratic consolidation with a loose standard based on existence of competitive elections as sole criteria. But I envisage this limitation actually provides an ideal sensitive measurement to detect the outliers.[6]

Further to the discussion in Chapter 2 on the autocracy literature, countries that fulfil the minimal criteria of the procedural minimalist approach can be regarded as democracies; if not, they are non-democracies or autocracies. Indeed, according to a recent classification, none of the deviant autocracies identified in the large-N analysis in this chapter are categorised as any subtype of democracy, namely minimalist, electoral, polyarchy or liberal (see Møller and Skaaning 2010: 271-274, Møller et al. 2012).

3.2 Measuring Democracy and Autocracy

Recently there has been a debate on the gap between the existing measurement and conceptualisation of democracy. Scholars have challenged measurements of democracy derived only from the perspective of scholars and ignoring how ordinary citizens view democracy (see Canache 2012: 1150; Doorenspleet 2015: 477; Koelbe and Lipuma 2008: 24). One of the suggested solutions is to adopt data from surveys such as that of Afrobarometer, to provide additional data about the perception of

[6] This chapter is to detect deviant autocracies, if the cases failed to reach the minimal standard of democracy. Those cases can no doubt be regarded as autocracies.

people toward democracy (see Doorenspleet 2015: 481). The idea is good, but the data has limited coverage, with only 37 countries in Africa. Countries in other continents are not included in the study. The questions and research design are also incomparable with other existing survey based studies, such as the European Social Survey, Eurobarometer, Latinobarómetro and World Values Survey. Lack of historical data for comparison is another concern of using this new measurement for democracy. I concur with the idea that refining existing measurements of democracy is important for future study of democracy. But for merely illustrating the increasing number of deviant autocracies, we have to rely on the existing measurements and databases.

Another controversy is related to the scale of operationalising democracy, i.e. the use of a dichotomous or continuous approach (see Bollen and Jackman 1989; Boix et al. 2012: 1525-1531; Doorenspleet 2004: 323; Przeworski et al. 2000; Sartori 2009). Determining the scale of the variable to a very large extent depends on the purpose of the study and appropriateness for hypothesis testing. Apart from testing hypotheses derived from a structural approach, this chapter also aims to detect outliers. For easy illustration, the definition of democracy and autocracy is very much data-driven, for example in line with the Polity score rating (-10 to +10), i.e. cases with a score of 6 or above can be regarded as democracies (see Marshall et al. 2011).

To measure democracy, there are various data sets available (see Arat 1991; Bollen 2001; Vanhanen 2000), but those data sets cannot be used in this thesis, as they focus only on a limited number of countries and/or time periods. Moreover, there is a recent – very promising and ambitious – project in which democracy is measured in different ways (the so-called V-Dem project, V-Dem Institute 2016) but the data has been only released very recently in 2016, so it was too late to include this approach in my thesis. There are two major 'historically oriented and integrated replication databases (HIRDs)' (Lieberman 2010: 39) offering historical studies of democracy across the world: the Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2010 by Marshall, Jaggers and Gurr (2011) and the Annual Survey of Freedom by Freedom House (2012). These two data sets do not only provide quantitative data for studies related to democracy and democratic transition, but they

also produce in-depth country reports to demonstrate changes occurring in relation to political development and civil liberties.

There are three reasons to adopt the data of the Polity IV project over Freedom House in measuring levels of democracy. The first is because the data more accurately reports each individual case. According to Lieberman (2010),

> in terms of concerns about valid comparisons, the Polity HIRD stands out in two respects. Each country report provides a clear summary of the key facts justifying the specific component scores… Moreover, Polity reserves several classifications for special circumstances, such as "foreign interruption", "transition", or "anarchy", and analysts are appropriately warned that country-years so coded should be approached with caution, particularly before one makes comparisons in terms of 'degrees' of democracy' (p. 51).

Hence, countries with the above codes are indicated as missing values in my dataset. The analysis does not include those values to avoid potential problems that might undermine the validity of the results.

Second, the Polity IV project provides better coverage with more variables, which is favourable for the study of deviant autocracies. Freedom House (2012) only measures 'political freedom' and 'civil liberties' from 1973 to 2012 with ratings from 1 to 7. Countries with lower scores are freer, whereas higher scores mean less freedom. This does admittedly provide valuable data showing the level of democracy in different cases. In contrast, the Polity score provides more accurate and refined measurements to capture the 'concomitant qualities of democratic and autocratic authority in governing institutions' from 1800 to 2011. The Polity score is based on the combination of two measurements. The first is level of democracy (DEMOC), which is an additive scale range from 0 to 10 based on the indicators shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Measurements of Democracy

Authority Coding	**Scale Weight**
Competitiveness of Executive Recruitment (XRCOMP):	
(3) Election	+2
(2) Transitional	+1
Openness of Executive Recruitment (XROPEN):	
only if XRCOMP is Election (3) or Transitional (2)	
(3) Dual/election	+1
(4) Election	+1
Constraint on Chief Executive (XCONST):	
(7) Executive parity or subordination	+4
(6) Intermediate category	+3
(5) Substantial limitations	+2
(4) Intermediate category	+1
Competitiveness of Political Participation (PARCOMP):	
(5) Competitive	+3
(4) Transitional	+2
(3) Factional	+1

Source: Marshall et al. (2013: 15)

The second is level of autocracy (AUTOC), which is measured based on five major coding criteria, including competitiveness of executive recruitment, openness of executive recruitment, constraint of chief executive, regulation of participation and competitiveness of participation (Marshall et al. 2013: 15-16). The score also ranges from 0 to 10. The coding is summarised as follows (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Measurements of Autocracy

Authority Coding	**Scale Weight**
Competitiveness of Executive Recruitment (XRCOMP):	
(1) Selection	+2
Openness of Executive Recruitment (XROPEN):	
only if XRCOMP is coded Selection (1)	
(1) Closed	+1
(2) Dual/designation	+1
Constraint on Chief Executive (XCONST):	
(1) Unlimited authority	+3
(2) Intermediate category	+2
(3) Slight to moderate limitations	+1
Regulation of participation (PARREG):	
(4) Restricted	+2
(3) Sectarian	+1
Competitiveness of Participation (PARCOMP):	
(1) Repressed	+2
(2) Suppressed	+1

Source: Marshall et al. (2013: 16)

The Polity project consists of a Polity score as a handy index to measure democracy and non-democracy. In fact, 'POLITY, is derived simply by subtracting the AUTOC value from the DEMOC value; this procedure provides a single regime score that ranges from +10 (full democracy) to -10 (full autocracy)' (Marshall et al. 2011: 12). We need to accept that this measurement is far from perfect. As Munck (2009) criticised the Polity score: 'no justification is provided for the weighting scheme' (p. 34). It also has the problem of ignoring inclusiveness: 'one risks adopting a measurement of democracy that is biased or even racist or sexist' (Doorenspleet 2000:387) and ignoring ordinary people's views when measuring democracy (Doorenspleet 2015).

I fully agree with critics of the Polity data set if we are measuring democratic stability or consolidation. Still, for the purpose of re-testing the structural explanation and mapping outliers, the existing measure is adequate to show whether a particular country is a democracy or non-democracy with reference to the existing literature on the procedural-minimal approach on democracy, as discussed in the beginning of this chapter (see Dahl 1973; Huntington 1991; Schmitter and Karl 1991; Schumpeter 1950: 369). Indeed, Doorenspleet (2000) still perceived the Polity data set as an 'ideal source

to measure the presence of competition' for minimal democracies (p. 390). Munck (2009) also pointed out that a 'positive quality of the Polity IV index, however, is that the disaggregate data are publicly available, thus ensuring that independent scholars can assess the implications of different aggregation rules and potentially suggest more appropriate aggregation rules' (p. 39). According to Doorenspleet (2015), the 'underlying concept of democracy as used in the Polity Project emphasises the importance of free and fair competition among political parties, of political participation by the people, and of protection of civil liberties' (p. 473). These attributes are in line with the basic criteria of the procedural-minimalist approach.

Polity measure is the most dominant measure in recent quantitative studies, and most – of not all- research projects have relied on this measurement when explaining transitions to democracy, democratic consolidation and autocratic consolidation (see Ahmadov 2013; Barro 2015; Bearce and Hutnick 2011; Boix 2011; Butcher 2014; Colaresi and Thompson 2003; Epstein et al. 2006; Goldstone et al. 2010; Haggard and Kaufman 2012; Hariri 2012; Jensen and Skaaning 2012; Knutsen and Nygård 2015; Linder and Bächtiger 2005; Liou and Musgrave 2014; Nur-tegin and Czap 2012; Rost and Booth 2008; Strand and Hegre 2012; Tusalem 2015; Ulfedler and Lustik 2007; Ulfelder 2007; Wright and Escribà-Folch 2011). Hence, the Polity Project provides the most appropriate measure for my thesis, not only to replicate the findings of previous studies but also to detect the deviant autocracies

The third reason to use the Polity data set over Freedom House is due to consistency of the measurement. The measurement adopted in Freedom House is subject to minor adjustments every year. It has received significant criticisms in relation to inconsistency of measurement and being ideologically driven (see Diamond 1999: 12; Giannone 2010:68; Munck and Verkuilen 2002: 21; Schneider and Schmitter 2004: 60; Seawright and Collier 2014). In fact, the problems of Freedom House's measurements can be easily identified by specialists who have a good understanding of particular cases. For example, the political freedom and civil liberty scores for Hong Kong were 3 and 2 respectively in 1972 even though direct elections had not yet been introduced for members of the legislature and all senior government officials were appointed by the colonial governor. The rating remained between 2 to 4 from 1972 to

1996. Interestingly, right after the handover of sovereignty to China in 1997, the rating suddenly dropped to 6 for political freedom and 3 for civil liberties (Freedom House 2012). In fact, the political structure and arrangement for selecting the Chief Executive and legislature remained very similar to the situation during the colonial era. The sudden decrease in ratings may easily lead to scepticism concerning the validity and consistency of the measurement. The rating may be simply based on the coders' subjective perception rather than reflecting the real institutional arrangements. By contrast, the Polity project provides a more consistent measurement to code the level of democracy and autocracy.

There are several issues we need to address before adopting the Polity project scale to measure democracy and autocracy. The most important issue is that some potential outliers were not studied in the Polity project (see Marshall et al. 2013: 1). Therefore I had to manually code the missing values for the Polity score. The coding procedure was carefully conducted with reference to the original code book and criteria listed in the project manual (Marshall et al. 2013). I followed the standards suggested by Lieberman (2010) to code missing values, which include 'the quality of sources, transparency of citations, reporting of certainty in the historical record, and attention to valid comparisons (including the explicit calibration of quantitative scores to qualitative observations)' (p. 55). There are three cases involved this process, including Brunei, Hong Kong and Macau (the coding procedure can refer to Table 3.1 and 3.2, also Marshall et al. 2013). To fill in the missing data of these cases, a rigorous procedure was implemented to obtain the data from reliable sources, by analysing the constitutional and electoral law of the countries in question. In addition, books, academic journal articles, official government reports, international replication databases have been used to cross-check with the validity of the coding. Usually more than one source of information has been consulted to ensure that the data obtained is valid and free from potential bias. The next section will discuss the independent and intervening variables derived from the structural approach, followed by data collection and measurement strategies.

3.3 Explaining Autocracy: the Main Structural Variables

Since the introduction of the structural explanations of democratisation, a significant number of quantitative studies have tested the impact of structural factors on democracy based on different time periods, different regions and different contextual factors (see Chapter 2). The aim of this third chapter is not only to identify potential factors for detailed analysis to re-test the major notions of the structural approach, but also to detect the outliers. This section therefore first provides an overview of the major internal and external factors that relate to democratisation in the existing literature. There is a detailed discussion to scrutinise major variables related to the structural explanation, including level of democracy, economic development, social homogeneity, oil production, religious belief and external factors, such as former colonial influence, receipt of economic support from external powers and number of democratic countries in the surrounding area. After discussion of these variables, the next section describes the data sources and measurement. I derived the data for the independent and intervening variables from existing data sets (see Lieberman 2010: 39). Two principles will be vigilantly emphasised when selecting a database, namely high reliability of measurements or scales and comprehensiveness of data coverage, to ensure that it provides the maximum amount of data to cover most cases around the world. So, what are the most important independent variables as analysed in previous quantitative studies?

Economic Development

Economic development has been regarded as the major independent variable for explaining consolidation of democracy and transition to democracy. As discussed in the previous chapter, the ground breaking study of Lipset (1959) explored economic development as the main requisite for sustaining democracy in Western Europe and North America. In the following years, various research projects have replicated this

argument and have shown the positive effect of economic development on sustaining democracy (Bollen and Jackman 1985; Coulter 1975; Cutright 1963; Cutright and Wiley 1969; Lipset et al. 1993; Smith 1969). Economic development is not only relevant to democratic consolidation, but there are also many studies which have shown that high levels of economic development have a positive impact on the chance that a country makes a transition to democracy (see Barro 1996; Boix 2011; Colaresi and Thompson 2003: 383; Croissant 2004; Crouch and Morley 1999; Epstein et al. O'Halloran 2006; Lipset 1959; Lipset 1994; Lipset et al. 1993; Narayan et al. 2010; Ravich 2000; Rost and Booth 2008: 635; Rowen 1995; Teorell 2010). Let me just highlight a few examples of these excellent studies., Boix (2011: 827) confirmed the positive effect of economic development on democratic transitions and consolidation with a data set from the early nineteenth century to the end of the twentieth century. Colaresi and Thompson (2003) also found that 'that when external conditions are controlled, there is qualified confirmation that economic development supports democracy' (p. 383). In addition, Jensen and Skaaning (2012: 1125) showed that economic development in terms of GDP per capita still has a significant positive effect on political rights and civil liberties. In the context of Asia, Croissant (2004) indicated that social and economic determinants, such as a high level of economic modernisation, positively correlate with democracy. But he also highlighted cases against the grain, e.g. stating that 'democracy did not emerge despite high socio-economic modernisation (Singapore)' (pp. 166-168). This is precisely the puzzle I seek to unpack further in the small-N analysis part of this study.

Countries with high levels of economic development can facilitate social development in the society. These intervening variables, including urbanisation, educational level, life expectancy and vibrancy of communication channels are also favourable for transitions to democracy (see Barro 1996; Cullen and Sommer 2011; Cutright 1963: 259; Diamond 2009: 78; Gurses 2011: 173; Halpern and Gibbs 2013; Huntington 1991; Lipset 1994; Lipset et al. 1993; Papaioannou and Siourounis 2008). Another study, which analysed 174 countries from 1960 to 2005, showed that a higher level of schooling (average years of education) had a positive impact on democratisation: '[w]hile countries that have remained autocratic over the past three

decades had 1.72 average years of schooling in 1975, countries that managed to opt out from autocracy had on average 3.59 years of schooling' (Papaioannou and Siourounis 2008:374). These intervening variables can also be used in the large-N analysis when replicating the findings of the structural approach and when mapping out the deviant autocracies.

Homogenous Society

A homogenous society has also been considered favourable to democratic development (see Barro 1996; Dahl 2000; Gurses 2011: 173). Previous research has been inconclusive, though, with mixed findings. According to Papaioannou and Siourounis (2008: 376), ethnic diversity is not a significant factor in predicting transition to democracy in the third wave of democratisation. However, Mansfield and Snyder (2009: 381-384) illustrated that ethnic diversity, especially when there is conflict between dominant and outsider groups, is very likely to intensify political struggle based on nationalism and result in incomplete democratisation. With quantitative data from 1972 covering 167 countries, Jensen and Skaaning (2012) suggested that not only modernisation but also ethnic fractionalisation have significant positive relationships with democratisation.

Hence, it is not clear whether this variable has an important impact. Moreover, potential deviant autocracies are quite homogenous in general. According to the Central Intelligence Agency (2014), Hong Kong (93.1% Chinese), Macau (92.4% Chinese), Saudi Arabia (90% Arab) and Singapore (74.2% Chinese) are dominated by a single ethnic group. Countries such as Brunei, Bahrain, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) are relatively multi-ethnic societies, if we count both national and non-national populaces. Take UAE as an example. According to the latest official government census data, 85% of the total population is non-national, i.e. only 15% are citizens, so the country is dominated by a single ethnic group so to speak (Federal Competiveness and Statistics Authority 2015).

Religious Belief

Religious belief is another important factor in the literature which may help us to understand transition to democracy. Papaioannou and Siourounis (2008) found that 'there is a significant negative correlation between Muslim share and the likelihood that a non-democratic country will democratise' (p. 375). Nevertheless, Lust (2011: 168) pointed out that there are different strands of Islam. This implies that the traditional way of measuring the share of Muslims in the total population is biased. With regard to Muslim(-majority) states, Lust (2011) argued that they should be further subdivided four ways: '[a] secularist-based state allowing non-state Islamist groups to participate, an Islamic based state allowing such Islamist participation, an Islamic-based state excluding participation of non-state Islamist groups, and a secularist-based state excluding Islamist participation' (p. 173). Rost and Booth (2008: 649) found that religious factionalism and percentage of Muslims have no relationship to democracy at all. Empirical evidence from the Middle East shows that historical experiences and institutional structures, especially in different types of Muslim-majority states, may affect the likelihood of democratisation. Islamic society is not necessarily anti-democracy, however, as the absolute power of incumbents in high income countries such as Oman, Bahrain, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia has been challenged in recent political uprisings (see Bellin 2012; Brynen et al. 2012; Matthiesen 2013).

Oil Producing Country

Being an oil producing country is often regarded an important factor impeding democratic progress (see Ross 2001: 327-328). Papaioannou and Siourounis (2008: 376) boldly suggest that oil producing countries are 'always autocratic'. To illustrate this idea, Diamond (2009) used the example of Russia to explain why it failed to

emerge as a legitimate democracy in recent years even though Russia has notable economic growth and development. He suggests that a 'distorted type of economic growth has been occurring in Russia—very dependent on natural resources—and occurring in a way that has actually given more resources, more control, and more political power to the existing authoritarian ruling elites' (p. 80). To further explain the underlying logic, Crystal (1989: 430-441) clarified how oil revenues facilitate coalition building between rulers and merchants to stabilise the regime. Recently, Amundsen (2014: 185) provided a detailed discussion of how the ruling elites monopolise power and block democratisation. Cross country analysis also supported the claim that natural-resource wealth impedes transition to democracy (Ulfelder 2007).

New findings in recent years supported the opposite conclusion, however. A large-N empirical study focused on the Muslim world from 1972 to 1999, and showed that oil-rich countries have a potentially positive effect on democratisation (Gurses 2009: 523). Gurses (2011) also used 'fuel' and 'ores and metals exports' to measure the effect on democratic development of countries' dependence on exporting natural resources, arguing that

> 'the emergence of natural-resource-rich democracies (e.g., Mexico, Chile, Indonesia) in the aftermath of the Cold War coupled with those democracies that have proven durable despite (or because of) substantial natural resources (e.g., Botswana, Trinidad and Tobago) have raised a more complex view of the relationship between natural resource wealth and the endurance of democracy' (p. 172).

To counteract the claim that oil production may be alien to democracy, Liou and Musgrave (2014) used timing effects to analyse the cases of Algeria, Ecuador, Gabon, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria, and Trinidad and Tobago to show that '[m]ost of the countries we investigate did not become more authoritarian than we would have expected even without an influx of oil income' (p. 1604). Likewise, a recent regression analysis shows that oil producing countries are not hindering democracy (Ahmadov 2013). In addition, Bearce and Hutnick (2011: 706) identified a new variable, 'net immigration per capita', as an important intervening variable to explain lack of democratisation among resource-rich countries. After controlling for this variable, GDP per capita still maintains a positive relationship with democracy. Based on the

above findings and in view of the recent 'Arab Spring', it would seem that oil-reliant countries are not necessarily alien to democracy (see Butcher 2014: 736). Given the latest findings and recent political developments among oil producing countries, it is reasonable to expect that this factor only has a marginal effect on democratisation.

Inequality

The interplay of elites, such as middle class is also crucial for democratisation. Moore's (1966:418) famous dictum, 'no bourgeoisie, no democracy', suggest that the middle class plays an important role in the transition to democracy. The size of the middle class can be useful in explaining democratic transitions (Doorenspleet 1997) and democratic consolidation (Inglehart 1988). But if the society is highly stratified, income and economic resources are highly concentrated among a small elite in a way that is unfavourable for the emergence of a middle class and the development of democracy.

Indeed, Moore's thesis has been challenged in recent studies. Bernhard (2016) analysed post-communist societies to show that 'in 1989 we witnessed for the first time the emergence of democracy without a bourgeoisie in Moore's sense' (p. 123). Boix and Stokes (2003) also implied that 'democracy is caused not by income per se but by other changes that accompany development, in particular, income equality' (p. 540). Similar arguments can be found in Rueschemeyer, Stephens and Stephens (1992), highlighting that elites or a landowning class continually act to impede democratisation. Recent studies also stress the important role of inequality in the process of democratisation, such as elite support in oil producing countries (Gurses 2011: 173) and the effect of adjusting taxation in highly unequal countries, which increase the plausibility of democratisation (Yi 2012).

Haggard and Kaufman (1995 and 1997) used the economic approach to highlight the importance of inequality and its effect on democracy. Basically, the poor prefer democracy, whereas the rich prefer (right-wing) dictatorship. To that extent,

the socio-economic background of the ruling elites is crucial in the process of political transition and democratisation. If right-wing actors take power, they will be reluctant to promote democracy. Nevertheless, Teorell (2010) argued that '[t]he greatest drawback of the economic approach, to date, is its relative lack of empirical corroboration' (p. 27). To address this issue, Chapter 4 will provides a detailed elaboration of the interaction between elites with a neo actor-based approach to understand how business and professional elites seize power during the period of transition.

External Factors

In the process of transitions to democracy, it is not uncommon to notice cases where democratic institutions are imposed by external actors. International forces generally refer to pressure from powerful states in the region, 'demonstration effects, the collapse of regional hegemons, and regional economic crises' (Hawkins 2001: 447). Haggard and Kaufman (2012) also made the following claim, '[e]xternal actors were decisive in some cases' (p. 496). Colaresi and Thompson (2003) also claimed that 'the international environment significantly alters the prospects for democracy. External threats from other states decrease the likelihood of democracy' (p. 383). In the cases of former Soviet states, the package of economic incentives offered by the European Union may become 'the most powerful incentives for democratic behavior… but you have to have political actors in the target countries that are willing to respond to incentives and cultural and social circumstances that provide at least some political pluralism and scope for influence' (Diamond 2009: 85).

However, the desirability of exporting democratic systems from developed countries to developing nations is being questioned. Barro (1996) found that 'political freedoms tend to erode over time if they [the country with democratic political structure imposed by external actor] get out of line with a country's standard of living' (p. 24). In any case, the interplay between external and internal actors may shed light on the existence of deviant autocracies. We will see how external actor(s) such as the

British government and communist China have shaped the political structure of former colonies such as Hong Kong and Singapore during the transitional period.

In the same vein, external influence via diffusion effects has been shown to be quite effective in breaking down autocracies. Lipset (1994: 16) explained that 'events in neighbouring countries, diffusion effects from elsewhere, leadership and movement behaviour, can affect the nature of the polity'. More importantly, this effect is widely accepted by a range of scholars (Doorenspleet and Kopecký 2008; Doorenspleet and Mudde 2008; Gibler and Tir 2014; Hale 2013; Hawkins 2001; Huntington 1991). This demonstration effect has a significant effect on democratisation. The influence of the demonstration effect or diffusion on democracy has been further illustrated in a study based on a dataset from the early 1950s to late 1990s (see i.e. Gleditsch 2002; Gleditsch and Ward 2006, 2008). Examining how political actors interact with and respond to the democratic experiences of neighbouring countries or influential external powers may help us to understand and explain deviant autocracies.

Finally, another critical international factor is colonial influence. The colonial experience, especially British rule, is often regarded as favourable to democratic development (Barro 1996: 19; Huber et al. 1993: 9; Jensen and Skaaning 2012: 1129). Glaeser et al. (2004) argued that European colonisation can enhance the human capital of the colonies. Likewise, Lipset et al. (1993: 160) claimed that 'former British colonies are more likely to have political democracy through the 1970s than countries that have been ruled by other colonial powers'. Lipset and his colleagues did not, however, provide any detailed description of the situation from the 1980s onward. It is worth noting that the relationship between British colonial experience and democracy is not statistically significant in their study after the 1970s. This result was replicated in Croissant's (2004) analysis, suggesting that there is 'no positive correlation between British colonialism and (liberal) democracy' (pp. 168-169).

These contradictory findings inevitably triggered debate on this issue. Some scholars were sceptical of the effect of colonial experience on democracy. Huntington (1991: 19) argued that 'no real effort was made to introduce democratic institutions'

in the colonies. Hariri (2012) shared a similar opinion: 'European colonisation and settlement did not export democracy, but European settlers did bring institutional forms of governance from their countries of origin, and their identity as Europeans… Institutional transplantation was not an export of democracy because none of the colonial powers were democratic at the time' (p. 474). In the case of India, Subrahmanyam (2006:87) argued that the British colonial government adopted divide and rule, trying to politicise social tensions to ensure effective rule. Further examples are illustrated by McMillan (2008), who stated that the British colonial government 'introduced elections to the Indian system of government, although with a severely restricted franchise, and with safeguards built in to guarantee representation for particular groups' (p. 738).

A recent econometric analysis based on a dataset from 1960 to 2000 also showed that countries colonised by Britain are associated with a negative relationship with democracy (Posso and Feeny 2015: 1260-1261). Moreover, Ganguly (2007: ix) claimed that the British did little or nothing to promote the growth of democratic institutions in India. In the case of Botswana, according to Good and Taylor (2008), the country acquired no functioning legislature until the year before independence in 1966, as the limited political development was concentrated on the embryonic executive (p. 753). Hong Kong is another pertinent example. It was a British colony for over 150 years; yet the introduction of direct elections with a limited franchise was initiated in 1988 right after the ratification of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984. Why was the British colonial administration reluctant to develop liberal democracy during the colonial era? Was the colonial policy of British adjusted after the 1970s? If so, why?

It is worth noting that Comeau (2003) is cautious on the impact of British colonial experience on democracy, arguing that

> [u]sing the colonial experience as an indicator of a nation's political tradition has some intrinsic conceptual problems. Due to fierce competition among colonial powers, a number of nations have experienced a succession of colonial administrations over time. The fact that a competitor would prevail, usually after throwing its rivals out of a disputed territory, does not necessarily imply that the losers

> left behind no impact. Therefore, it might not be appropriate to attribute the entirety of a nation's political heritage before independence to the one predominant colonial ruler (p. 4).

Therefore, it would be useful to study the interaction of the former colonial elites and the successors during the process of negotiation and political transition, in cases such as independence (Bahrain, Brunei and Singapore) and handover of sovereignty (Hong Kong and Macau).

The Selected Structural Variables and Hypotheses

To sum up, there are multiple factors contributing to transition to democracy, as illustrated by Fukuyama (1992):

> Democratisation is an autonomous political process, however, that is dependent on a variety of political factors including: the apparent success of democracy relative to its authoritarian competitors in other countries; the fortunes of war (and peace) in the international system; the skill and competence of the individual leaders who seek to create and consolidate democratic systems; and sheer accident. There are also cultural obstacles to stable democracy, such as religion, ethnicity, preexisting social structure, and the like, that are independent of the level of economic development and affect the possibility of democracy (p. 108).

Most studies which have tested the structural explanation indicate that economic development is still a significant independent variable in predicting democratisation. To re-test the structural explanation, I state the following two hypotheses:

> *H1: There is a positive relationship between economic development and level of democracy.*
>
> *H2: Ceteris paribus, economic development is the most important predictor in explaining level of democracy.*

To test the above hypotheses, I collected data from various sources and data sets (see Table 3.3). The dependent variable is based on the Polity score (Marshall et al. 2011). The scores for the independent and intervening variables are mainly collected from data of the World Bank's (2012) World Development Indicator, which provides a comprehensive list of variables in a wide range of areas, including agriculture and rural development, aid effectiveness, climate change, economic policy and external debt, education, energy and mining, environment, the financial sector, gender, health, infrastructure, labour and social protection, poverty, the public and private sectors, science and technology, social development and urban development. This time-series database covers the period 1960 to 2012 and a total of 214 economies.[7] The data is not exclusively drawn from large countries; small states and territories are all present in the data. Variables are also excerpted from Democracy Crossnational Data (Norris 2009), which contains 1,000 variables covering data on the social, economic and political characteristics of 191 states. The influence of Islam is based on the idea of Lust (2011).

Table 3.3 List of Major Variables and Sources

Major Variables	**Code**	**Source**
Dependent variables		
- POLITY (-10 to 10)	polity	Marshall et al. (2011)
- Democracy (0-10)	in_dem	Marshall et al. (2011)
- Autocracy (0-10)	in_aut	Marshall et al. (2011)
Social-economic conditions		
- GDP per capita (ln)	GDP	World Bank (2012)
- Urban population (% of total)	urb	World Bank (2012)
- Life expectancy at birth, total (years)	life_exp	World Bank (2012)
- School enrolment,	sch_sec	World Bank (2012)

[7] Some scholars argue that the military always has a decisive effect on transition; if military leaders fail to give up power peacefully and use a military coup to get rid of the civilian government, this will severely affect the smooth transition and consolidation of the newly developed political structure (see Haggard and Kaufman 2012: 496; Lee 2009: 662). The effect of military is not analysed in this chapter due to two reasons: 1) lack of existing reliable quantitative measurement and database on influence of military for each individual country from 1960 to 2010; 2) this is not an important factor among the potential cases of deviant autocracies identified in this chapter. For example, during the transitional period, military and armed force did not played any role in Singapore and Hong Kong.

secondary (% gross) - School enrolment, tertiary (% gross) - Ethnic fractionalisation (combined linguistic and racial) - Gini coefficient	sch_ter ethnic gini	World Bank (2012) Norris (2009) Norris (2009)
Communication Channels - Telephone lines (per 100 people) - Mobile cellular subscriptions (per 100 people) - Internet users (per 100 people) - Newspapers per 1,000 people	 tele mobile internet newspaper	 World Bank (2012) World Bank (2012) World Bank (2012) World Bank (2012)
Natural Resource - Total natural resources profits (% of GDP) - Oil profits (% of GDP) - Fuel exports (% of merchandise exports) - Ores and metals exports (% of merchandise exports)	 nat_res oil_rents fuel_exp ore_met	 World Bank (2012) World Bank (2012) World Bank (2012) World Bank (2012)
Demographic Factor - Land area (sq. km) - Population density (people per sq. km of land area)	 land pop_den	 Norris (2009) World Bank (2012)
Influence of Islam - Islam as predominant religion - Secular regime with Islamist inclusion - Secular regime with Islamist exclusion - Islamic-based regime with Islamist inclusion - Islamic based regime with Islamist exclusion	 muslim muslim_SRI muslim_SRE muslim_IRI muslim_IBE	 Lust (2011) Lust (2011) Lust (2011) Lust (2011) Lust (2011)
External factors - Former British colony - Total reserves (% of total external debt) - Percentage of other democracies in region	 GBR_colony ext_debt demo_reg	 Norris 2009 World Bank (2012) World Bank (2012)

Label (in Scatterplot) - Country Name (Polity)	Scode	Marshall et al. (2011)

All the above data are carefully compiled to formulate a single dataset for large-N analyses, which consists of 167 countries and territories, covering the period from 1960 to 2011. It provides a reliable and accurate dataset with various dependent, independent and intervening variables to test the hypotheses.

There is an issue of autocorrelation in data analysis that was originally stressed spontaneously in the disciplines of geography and econometrics. It generally refers to a repeating pattern in the time series data that may undermine the significance of the findings of regression analysis (see Anselin 1992; Beck et al. 1998; Getis and Ord 1992; Ord and Getis 1995; Robert 2003; Roodman 2009). Instruments for identification and measurement of autocorrelation have been developed in difference disciplines, such as the Arellano-Bond test, the Baltagi-Wu test, the Breusch-Godfrey test, the Durbin-Watson statistic, Geary's c, Moran's I, Wooldridge's test and spatial association analysis (Anselin 1988; Anselin and Getis 1992; Bhargava 1982; Breusch 1978; Breusch and Pagan 1979, 1980; Cliff and Ord 1973; Davis 1986; Drukker 2003; Godfrey 1978; Kirby and Ward 1987; Lee and Strang 2006; O'Loughlin et al. 2004; Ord and Getis 1995; Wooldridge 2002). Proponents have argued that failure to avoid spatial autocorrelation can lead to model misinterpretation (see Anselin and Griffith 1988; Arbia 1989; Getis and Ord 1992: 203). Hence, Getis and Ord (1992: 189) urged researchers to assess the effects of autocorrelation.

Only a limited number of studies on democratisation have highlighted the issue of autocorrelation. Those research studies generally replicated the notion of structural explanation, that is, structural factors still hold a significant positive relationship with democratisation (see Diebolt et al. 2013: 748; O'Loughlin et al. 2004: 568; Ulfelder 2008: 291). In recent years, Torfason and Ingram (2010) used a network autocorrelation model to examine the cases from 1815 to 2000 and demonstrated the positive effects of the interstate network and the global diffusion of democracy. They used the Arellano-Bond test to suggest that 'serial autocorrelation does not seem to

be driving our results' (p. 371). Another study on democratisation and corruption demonstrated that the issue of autocorrelation did not exist (Roca and Alidedeoglu-Buchner 2010: 10). Not surprisingly, scholars in the field of democratisation have been urged not to adjust for autocorrelation because there is a lack of evidence to show that it is relevant to the study of democratisation (see Mansfield and Pevehouse 2006: 149; Mansfield and Snyder 2002: 537; Welzel 2006: 886).[8]

The next section will test the impact of the key structural factors on the level of democracy in a large-N statistical analysis. The first finding is that findings of previous studies can be replicated. The second finding, though, is that there is an increasing number of outliers. This number went from 3 in 1960 to 11 in 2010. Those outliers are countries with a high level of economic development but without democracy, called 'deviant autocracies' in my thesis.

I will argue that the emergence of deviant autocracies in recent decades posits a huge challenge to the structural explanation, especially modernisation theory, and also a puzzle for the student of democratisation. It is important to study and examine this issue systematically.

3.4 Re-testing the Impact of Structural Explanations

To start with, Table 3.4 shows the result of bivariate analysis of the major variables with Polity scores to provide a baseline for multivariate analysis in the later part of this chapter. This helps to determine which factors can be eliminated in subsequent analysis and/or case studies (see Frees 2004; George and Bennett 2005; Simon 1954; Lieberman 2005, 2010). The result concerning social-economic conditions and democracy are pretty much consistent with the existing literature; in particular, economic development as measured by GDP per capita (.441) and school enrolment

[8] To avoid the potential danger of autocorrelation, I have conducted the Breusch-Godfrey test and the Breusch-Pagan test (Breusch 1978; Breusch and Pagan 1979, 1980; Godfrey 1978). Neither set of results suggests that there are problems of autocorrelation or heteroscedasticity in the data used in this thesis.

for university students (.528) maintain a significant moderate positive relationship with the Polity score.

Unsurprisingly, this finding confirms the importance of communication channels for democracy (see Cutright 1963). Given that current communication channels are very different from half a century ago, the use of mobile phone (.276) and internet (.294) are positively correlated with democracy ($p < .001$). Gurses (2011: 164) highlighted the well famed 'resource curse' among countries that heavily rely on exporting natural resources, more precisely oil; such dependence has an adverse effect on democratisation and tends to sustain a suppressive regime. The preliminary bivariate analysis supports this claim and all the variables that related to exportation of natural resources are negatively correlated with Polity score; in particular, the total natural resources profits and oil profits are -.369 ($p < .001$) and -.410 ($p < .001$), respectively.

The results show that the demographic factor has only insignificant effect on democracy: country size and population density only hold a very weak positive relationship with democracy, at .037 ($p = .032$) and .039 ($p = .005$) respectively. In this regard, there is no reason for us to neglect small states. To incorporate more countries into the model for analysis can definitely enhance the explanatory power and generalisability of the structural explanation. Similar to the 'resource curse', Islamic belief is usually depicted as incompatible with democracy. If we analyse predominantly Muslim countries, the results support this assertion, showing significant negative correlation with democracy (-.394).

Lust (2011) suggested different types of Islamic state; using this categorisation method we obtain a very interesting finding: the 'secular regime with Islamist inclusion' neither supports nor resists democracy, as this variable does not have any significant relationship with Polity score ($p = .867$).

Finally, external factors, such as foreign aid (0.48, $p = .004$) and democracy diffusion (.541, $p = 000$), also have a significant effect on democracy. However, it is worth noting that former British colonies no longer maintain a significant relationship with democracy. We also find this interesting finding in the study of Lipset et al. (1993),

but their paper does not explain this finding at all. As clarified above, the effect of former British colonisation on democracy is diminishing. Especially those cases involved disputes with external actors during the de-colonisation process. The next chapter will closely scrutinise this factor to explain the emergent and persistence of deviant autocracies.

Table 3.4: Aggregated Correlational Analysis between the Key Variables, 1960 to 2011

Variable	**Number of Cases**	**Polity Score**
Social-economic conditions		
- GDP per capita (ln)	6,382	.441***
- Urban population (% of total)	7,094	.357 ***
- School enrolment, secondary (% gross)	4,362	.521***
- School enrolment, tertiary (% gross)	4,038	.528***
- Life expectancy at birth, total (year)	7,030	.492***
- Ethnic fractionalisation (combined linguistic and racial)	6,993	-.282***
- Inequality (Gini coefficient)	7,061	-.068***
Communication Channels		
- Telephone lines (per 100 people)	5,444	.523***
- Mobile cellular subscriptions (per 100 people)	5,607	.276***
- Internet users (per 100 people)	2,947	.294***
- Newspapers per 1,000 people	1,935	.437***
Natural Resource		
- Total natural resources profits (% of GDP)	5,379	-.369***
- Oil profits (% of GDP)	4,382	-.410***
- Fuel exports (% of merchandise exports)	4,567	-.339***
- Ore and metal exports (% of merchandise exports)	4,668	-.133***
Demographic Factor		
- Land area (sq. km)	3,302	.037*
- Population density (people per sq. km of land area)	5,080	.039**
Influence of Islam		
- Islam as predominant religion	7,061	-.394***
- Secular regime with Islamist inclusion	7,180	.002
- Secular regime with Islamist exclusion	7,180	-.226***
- Islamic-based regime with Islamist inclusion	7,180	-.114***
- Islamic based regime with Islamist exclusion	7,180	-.236***
External factors		

-	Former British colony	7,180	.021
-	Total reserves (% of total external debt)	3,575	.048**
-	Percentage of other democracies in region	7,061	.541***

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001

After these bivariate correlational analysis, the next step is to reduce the number of variables for further multivariate analysis (see Frees 2004: 11; George and Bennett 2005; Meyers et al. 2013; Simon 1954). Factor analysis (see Gorsuch 2015) is then conducted to reduce the number of factors that explain most of the variance before the regression analysis. Analyses show that economic development, GDP per capita (.794), and other social development related variables, urban population (.751), tertiary enrolment (.673) and life expectancy at birth (. 655) can explain 21.69% of the variance. This suggests that factors related to a structural approach are still important in explaining democracy. Other variables identified in the factor analysis deserve more attention: Islam as predominant religion (.662), oil profits in percentage of GDP (.655), armed forces personnel in percentage of total labour force (.687), fuel exports in percentage of merchandise exports (.585) contribute to 14.51% of the variance, and former British colony (.726) and total reserves in percentage of total external debt (.534) are two important factors which explain 11.05% of the variance.

The bivariate and factor analysis suggest that economic variable still have a significant effect on the dependent variable, the level of democracy (as measured by the Polity Project). To further verify the result, a multivariate analysis, namely regression analysis, is conducted. To replicate the finding of Barro (1996: 16-18) for the basic regressions for level of democracy, the following variables are analysed, GDP per capita, schooling and life expectancy. These variables are aligned with major notions of the structural explanations (see Lipset, Seong and Torres 1993: 166; Lipset 1994: 17). Here are the structural equations of the model:[9]

[9] To analyse the data, some scholars preferred to use lagged variables to show the impact over time (see Boix 2011; Epstein et al. 2006: 560). But I do agree with the argument of Jensen and Skaaning (2012: 1124, 1127) in view of the lagged variable. Thus, the data present in the following section without using any artificial procedure to lag the data.

$$polity = \beta 0(GDP\ per\ capita) + \beta 1\ (urban\ population) + \mu \quad (1)$$

$$polity = \beta 0(GDP\ per\ capita) + \beta 1\ (urban\ population) + \beta 2\ (life\ expectancy) + \mu \quad (2)$$

$$polity = \beta 0(GDP\ per\ capita) + \beta 1\ (urban\ population) + \beta 2\ (life\ expectancy) + \beta 3\ (school\ enrolment,\ secondary) + \beta 4\ (school\ enrolment,\ tertiary) + \mu \quad (3)$$

In Table 3.5, the first model shows that the economic indicators still retain a significant positive relationship with democracy. Economic development, i.e. GDP per capita, yields a significant positive relationship (.415, < .001). However, the effect of urbanisation is not as strong, as shown by the bivariate analysis: there is a very weak positive relationship with the dependent variable, yielding the standardised coefficients beta-weight at .034, p = .040. Other variables such as life expectancy and educational attainment did have a significant effect on developing or maintaining democracy, especially tertiary education (.282, p < .001), which involves training skilled labourers to enhance human capital and facilitate further economic progression. At the same time, economic development may nurture so-called 'civic culture' with a participatory political culture and liberal mind set, which will eventually provide a solid foundation for transition to democracy (see Almond and Verba 1963; Inglehart 1988; Inglehart and Welzel 2003; Hadenius and Teorell 2005; Pye and Verba 1965; Teorell and Hadenius 2006; Welzel and Inglehart 2006, 2008).

All in all, the models suggest that economic development and other social development indicators, such as life expectancy and educational level, are significant predictors for the variance of the Polity score. This finding is in line with many successful transitional experiences. In several highly developed countries, such as Taiwan and South Korea, a significant number of university students and members of the middle class were involved in establishing a democratic political structure (see Cheng 1989; Kim 2003). More importantly, it is worth mentioning that economic development still has a significant positive relationship in explaining the variance of

Polity, with beta-weight at .415, p < .001, .175, p < .001 and .138, p < .001 in Models 1, 2 and 3 respectively.[10]

Table 3.5: Regression Analysis on the Major Variables of Modernisation Theory

	(1)	**(2)**	**(3)**
Predictor	Polity	Polity	Polity
- GDP per capita (ln)	.415***	.175***	.138***
- Urban population (ln)	.034*	-.075***	-.174***
- Life expectancy (ln)	-	.399***	.208***
- School enrolment, secondary	-	-	.175***
- School enrolment, tertiary	-	-	.282***
N	6,377	6,314	3,340
R^2 (adjusted)	.194	.244	.374

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001

Note: Numbers presented are Standardised Coefficients Beta-Weight.

To further investigate the influence of other factors discussed in the previous section, more variables are included in the equation to examine its effect on the dependent variable, GDP per capita, with reference to the existing structural explanations literature. These variables include urbanisation, life expectancy, ethnic fractionalisation, Gini-coefficient, former British colonisation, and percentage of democracies in the region (in Model 4).[11] In addition, oil production and religious

[10] Socio-economic development indicators are high correlated, to avoid noises to affect the result on the multivariable analysis in Model 4 and 5. A factor analysis has been conducted to select the variables for detail analysis with other independent variables. The result shows that school enrolment for secondary and tertiary enrolment can only explain 3.3% and 2.3% of the variance only. Hence, these variables will be excluded in the sequence analysis.

[11] The formula of Model 4 is based on the variables used in following existing studies: Polity Score (Ahmadov 2013; Barro 2015; Bearce and Hutnick 2011; Boix 2011; Butcher 2014; Colaresi and Thompson 2003; Epstein et al. 2006; Goldstone et al. 2010; Haggard and Kaufman 2012; Hariri 2012; Jensen and Skaaning 2012; Knutsen and Nygård 2015; Linder and Bächtiger 2005; Liou and Musgrave 2014; Nur-tegin and Czap 2012; Rost and Booth 2008; Tusalem 2015; Ulfedler and Lustik 2007; Ulfelder 2007; Wright and Escribà-Folch 2011); GDP per capita (Barro 1996: 2; Boix 2011; Colaresi and Thompson 2003: 383; Croissant 2004; Crouch and Morley 1999; Epstein et al. 2006; Huber et al. 1993; Lipset 1959;

belief are added in (Model 5).[12] The hypotheses will be will be tested with the following formulas:

polity = β0(GDP per capita) +β1 (urban population) +β2 (life expectancy) +β3 (Gini coefficient) +β4 (former British colony) + β5 (percentage of other democracies in region) +β6 (ethnic fractionalisation) +μ (4)

polity = β0(GDP per capita) +β1 (urban population) +β2 (life expectancy) +β3 (Gini coefficient) +β4 (Islam as predominant religion) +β5 (oil profits (% of GDP)) +β6 (former British colony) + β7 (percentage of other democracies in region) + β8 (ethnic fractionalisation) +μ (5)

Lipset 1994; Lipset et al. 1993; Narayan et al. 2010; Ravich 2000; Rost and Booth 2008: 635; Rowen 1995; Rueschemeyer et al. 1992; Teorell 2010); Urban population (Colaresi and Thompson 2003; Epstein et al. 2006: 560); Life expectancy (Barro 1996; Ulfelder and Lustik 2007: 361); Gini Coefficient (Acemoglu and Robinson 2000, 2001 and 2006; Boix 2003, 2008; Freeman and Quinn 2012; Tudor 2013); Former British colony (Barro 1996, 1999; Bernhard et al. 2004; Bollen and Jackman 1985; Colaresi and Thompson 2003; Epstein et al. 2006: 560; Jensen and Skaaning 2012; Lankina and Getachew 2012; Rueschemeyer et al. 1992); Percentage of other democracies in region (Colaresi and Thompson 2003; Doorenspleet 2004; Hawkins 2001; Linz and Stepan 1996; Lipset 1994); and ethnic fractionalisation (Barro 1996; Dahl 1973; Croissant 2004; Jensen and Shaaning 2012; Rost and Booth 2008).

[12] In addition to the variables used in Model 4, Model 5 add the following variables into the formula: Islam as predominant religion (Barro 1996; Epstein et al. 2006; Lust 2011; Papaioannou and Siourounis 2008; Rost and Booth 2008; Tusalem 2009); and oil profits (% of GDP) (Bearce and Hutnick 2011; Epstein et al. 2006; Gurses 2009; Liou and Musgrave 2014).

Table 3.6: Explaining Democracy Levels: Multivariate Regression Analyses

	(4)	**(5)**
Independent Variables	Polity Scores	Polity Scores
- GDP per capita (ln)	.166***	.277***
- Urban population (ln)	-.007	-.050**
- Life expectancy (ln)	.129***	.096***
- Gini coefficient	.027*	.019
- Islam as predominant religion	-	-.233***
- Oil profits (% of GDP)	-	-.225***
- Former British colony	.150***	.112***
- Percentage of other democracies in region	.455***	.263***
- Ethnic fractionalisation	-.085***	-.058***
N	6,213	4,301
R^2 (adjusted)	.410	.530

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001

Note: Numbers presented are Standardised Coefficients Beta-Weight.

Models 4 and 5 are used to conduct regression analysis on Polity scores. In Model 4 (df = 7, n = 6,213), the overall explanatory power is 41.0% for the variance of the dependent variable. The GDP per capita is the second important predictor in the analysis, yielding a positive significant relationship (.166, p < .001). The most significant factor in this model is percentage of democracies in the region, with beta weight .455, p < .001. Finally, the GDP per capita (.277, p < .001) is the most important predictor in Model 5 (df = 9, n = 4310, R^2 (adjusted) = .530). In other words, countries with higher levels of economic development are more likely to become democratic. These results also support Hypothesis H1 and Hypothesis H2.

Model 5 has the strongest explanatory power among all the models, as it can explain 53.0% of the variance of Polity score. This overall result is consistent with the major arguments of the structural explanation. The significant negative relationship of *muslim* (-.233, p < .001) signify that non-Muslim societies are more likely to favour a democratic political structure (see Papaioannou and Siourounis 2008; Lust 2011). Countries that rely on exporting raw materials, such as oil, are also negatively related to the dependent variable (-.225, p < .001) which is consistent with the 'resource curse'

highlighted by Gurses (2011). The geo-political factor, number of democracies in the region (.263, $p < .001$), also has a significant influence on Polity score (see Gleditsch and Ward 2008; Lipset 1994). In addition, former British colonies also tend to become democratic, with a significant weak positive relationship (.112, $p < .001$).

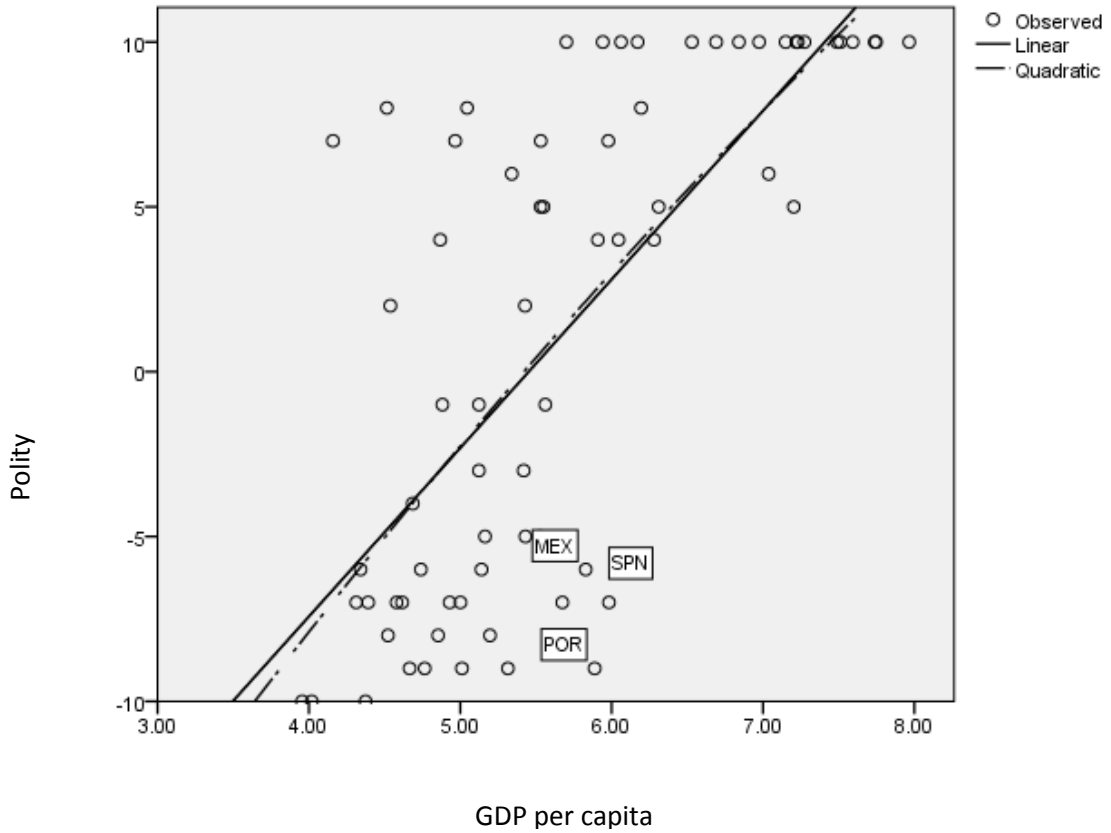
In short, the multivariate analyses with the latest empirical data have successfully replicated the major findings of structural explanations. The GDP per capita yielding a significant positive relationship with Polity score in all the Models presented above. Models 1, 2 and 3 mainly tested the basic notion of the structural explanation. In Models 4 and 5, different independent variables have been added in the equations, including urbanisation, life expectancy, ethnic fractionalisation, Gini-coefficient, former British colonisation, percentage of democracies in the region, oil production and religious belief. The results still show that economic development has a significant positive relationship with democracy. More importantly, among the above independent variables, economic development is the most important factors in explaining the variance of the dependent variable, i.e. Polity scores.

3.5 Identifying the Outliers, Discovering the Deviant Autocracies

To illustrate the emergence of outliers or deviant autocracies, I decided to regroup the data into different years (1960 and 2010) and the results demonstrate a very interesting trend. The year 1960 was immediately after Lipset (1959) first set out his hypothesis, i.e. the correlation between economic development and democracy. As shown in Figure 3.1, the scatterplot demonstrates that most cases fit into Lipset's prediction. With the Polity score as the dependent variable and GDP per capita (ln) as the predictor, the statistical result shows a robust explanatory power (with adjusted R^2 .502); the beta weight is .714 ($p < .001$) among the 68 countries. This clearly shows that there is a linear relationship between these two variables, and that the explanatory power is very strong in explaining the variance of the dependent variable.

The result definitely replicates the *modernisation hypothesis*, showing that economic development is an important prerequisite for democratic development (see Barro 2015: 912; Epstein et al. 2006: 551).

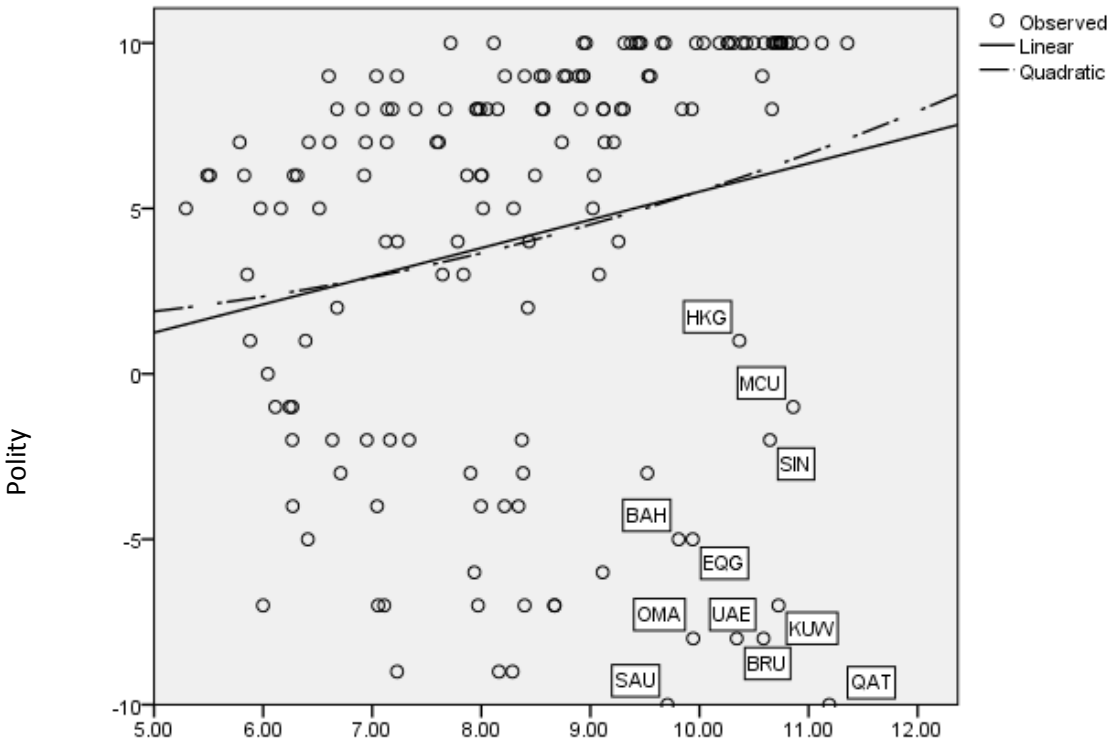
Figure 3.1: Scatterplot of Polity Score and Economic Development in 1960



In a regression analysis of the Polity score, as predicted by the GDP per capita (ln) in the year 2010, the R^2 (adjusted) greatly reduced to 0.39 compared with .502 in 1960. In addition, the beta weight dropped from .714 to .212 at significance levels of .008 among 154 countries in the world (Figure 3.2). This reveals that the explanatory power of economic development on democracy has significantly weakened. Since the 1960s, there have been various state building events due to independent movements, de-colonisation and the breakdown of the former Soviet Union; these have all contributed to the creation of new states in different regions in Asia, Africa, Latin American, Southern Europe and Eastern Europe. From 1960 to 2010,

the total number of states increased rapidly from 68 to more than 167. Most deviant autocracies have been nation states that experienced transition to independent or changed sovereignty in this period. After the transitional period, all such cases already possessed a certain level of economic development, such as Bahrain (1971), Brunei (1984), Kuwait (1961), Qatar (1971), Singapore (1965) and the United Arab Emirates (1971). Hong Kong and Macau were fully developed when returned to Chinese sovereignty by Britain and Portugal in 1997 and 1999, respectively.

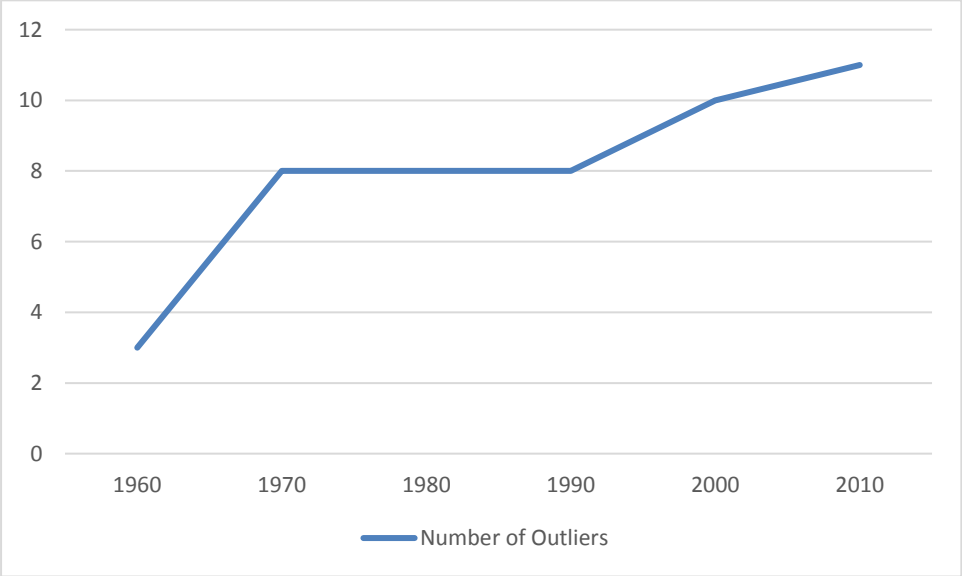
Figure 3.2: Scatterplot of Polity Score and Economic Development in 2010



The question is, then, how many deviant autocracies have actually emerged since 1960? Figures 3.1 and 3.2 show the increasing number of deviant autocracies over the past few decades. In 1960, only three cases could be categorised as deviant autocracies: Mexico, Portugal and Spain. The number of outliers increased twofold by 1970, to include Argentina, Greece, Kuwait, Mexico, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Singapore

and Spain. Intriguingly, with the waves of democratisation (see Doorenspleet 2000; Huntington 1991), a significant number of countries in Southern Europe and Latin America went through democratic transitions, including the outliers, Argentina, Greece, Mexico, Portugal and Spain. Yet the number of outliers has not diminished from the 1980s onwards. To the contrary. By 2010, the total number of cases increased to the impressive number of 11 countries (see Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3: Number of Deviant Autocracies, 1960 to 2010



The above analysis suggests that the relationship between economic development and level of democracy has significantly diminished after half century. On the one hand, there are more well-to-do countries make a transition to democracy, such as Argentina, the Baltic States, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Croatia, Czech Republic, East Germany, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, South Korea, Spain and Taiwan. On the other hand, there is an increasing number of outliers which go against the *modernisation hypothesis*. In Table 3.7, there are eleven deviant

autocracies that possess a high level of economic development but are still non-democratic.[13]

The cases identified as deviant autocracies in Table 3.7 undeniably possess high levels of economic development, but it is worthwhile noting the heterogeneous nature of their successful developmental pathways. The literature of standard development theory already includes vivid discussions of the two different types of development trajectories in relation to the concerned cases. The first type refers to the cases, including Hong Kong, Macau, and Singapore, that achieved economic success primarily by adopting the notion of neo-liberalism and emphasising foreign direct investment and an export-oriented approach (see Chan 2013; Chao and Yi 2007; Gu, Dong and Huang 2015: 111-113; Gu and Dong 2011; Harvey 2005; Hill et al. 2012; Wang 2012). Consequently, it created a group of interest-oriented business and professional elites who strived to maintain the status quo for the sake of economic stability and prosperity (see Case 1996; Chua 2000, 2010b; Jayasuriya 1994; So 2000).

The second types are regarded as resource-reliant countries. The economies of countries such as Bahrain, Brunei, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates have been largely sustained by the extraction of petroleum resources since the discovery of oil in the 1920s, with reliance upon Western technology to drill and extract the resources. The international actors and local elites interacted to protect their respective interests (Magnus 1975, 1976). The mass production of crude oil that began in the 1940s, fused with the influence of the Cold War and the astonishing increase in oil prices in the 1970s, not only contributed to these countries' hasty economic development, but also intensified the elite bargaining situation (see Khatib 2014; Knauerhase 1979; Magnus 1975, 1976). Hence, the ruling elites worked closely or even established patron-client relationships with the oil-based business conglomerates to secure their political and economic interests (see Greenwood 2008; Kamrave 2007).

[13] Based on the advice and strategy recommended by Lieberman (2005: 445) and Seeberg (2014a: 106-107). Deviant cases refer to standardised residual more than 2.0. The deviant cases listed in Table 3.5 show a high standardised residual of more than 3.0.

The cases above are in Asia, including East, Southeast and West Asia, but there is an exceptional case, Equatorial Guinea, the only African state on the list, which makes the deviant autocracies an important research domain. The cases discussed above experienced the Cold War era and the de-colonisation process. Equatorial Guinea has experienced rapid economic growth since the mid-1990s without any direct interference from the above historical incidents (Fraynas 2004). In the post-colonial period, especially after the 1990s, both American and Chinese companies have had increasing influence in Equatorial Guinea. Obiang's authoritarian administration was eager to build up client networks to further consolidate its power (see Appel 2012; Esteban 2009). Thus, it is theoretically interesting to see the interaction between the ruling elites, the external actors and state capacity during its transitional period. More importantly, it opens the possibility of increasing the total number of cases categorised as deviant autocracies in the future.

Given this brief overview of the economic development trajectories among the outliers, it is important to examine the interaction of elites during the transitional period and to observe how the ruling elites manipulated the state capacity to explain the genesis and persistence of deviant autocracies (see Chapter 4).

Table 3.7: Polity Score among Deviant Autocracies in 2010

Country/Territory	Polity Score
Bahrain	-5
Brunei	-8
Equatorial Guinea	-5
Hong Kong	1
Kuwait	-7
Macau	-1
Oman	-8
Qatar	-10
Saudi Arabia	-10
Singapore	-2
United Arab Emirates	-8

Source: Marshall et al. (2011); missing values are compiled by the author

To provide further empirical evidence to illustrate the emergence of deviant autocracies, I calculated the Cook's distance (see Cook 1977, 1979; Cook and Weisberg 1982) and compared it with the situation in 1960 and 2010. This statistical equation can detect the existence of outliers in linear regression models. The existence of outliers in the model could weaken the explanatory power of the theory. In discussing outliers, Cook (1979: 172-174) attempts to delete observations categorised as outliers in the model and finds that this will greatly enhance the model's residual correlation and confidence level (40% increased to 99.95%). But to understand social phenomena, we cannot simply ignore the existence of outliers in the study of democratisation. Deleting cases which cannot be explained by the model may prevent researchers from exploring the process and factors that are crucial in democratisation.[14]

For illustration, I adopted the equation introduced by Bollen and Jackman (1990) for identifying deviant cases. To determine the existence of outliers, '[a] cutoff of 4/n for D*i* would be roughly equivalent', i.e. D*i* > 4/N (p. 266). Analysing the linear regression result of the influence of GDP per capita on the autocracy index available in Polity IV shows that the standard deviation of Cook's Distance is .013 (N = 68) in

[14] Cook (1979: 172) emphasised that outliers are difficult to detect in a model which consists of many cases. A cross-national analysis on the effect of economic development on democracy is certainly an example of such a model; any outliers will be easily overlooked by researchers.

1960, far lower than the expected .062. The situation became more interesting in 2010, with the number of valid cases, 154, demonstrating a Cook's Distance of .022, which is very close to the cut-off point .026.

Conclusion

The findings of this chapter have two major implications for the field of democratization. First, the factors which have been central in the structural approach to explain levels of democracy still matter when understanding the changes of political regimes. In this chapter, the latest empirical data from 1960 to 2011 showed a robust relationship between economic development and democracy. I replicated the findings from the existing literature that economic development has a significant positive effect on political regime. My multivariate regression analyses also showed that economic development is the most significant predictor for the variance of the dependent variable, democracy (as measured by the polity scores). Hence, both hypotheses cannot be rejected which means that economic development is still an important structural factor when explaining democratization. Replicating the major notion of structural approach can provide the grounds for making the empirical cases for the deviant autocracies.

Secondly, the result clearly identified empirical cases to show the existence of deviant autocracies. The data showed that there have been an increasing number of deviant autocracies in the past few decades. Beginning in the 1970s, an increasing number of countries fell into the category of deviant autocracies after experiencing a transitional period, such as de-colonisation, transfer of sovereignty and independence. By 2010, the data detected 11 deviant autocracies, including Bahrain, Brunei, Equatorial Guinea, Hong Kong, Kuwait, Macau, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore and the United Arab Emirates. Those cases possess a high level of economic development, but against the odds – they are not democratic and (still) have not made a transition to democracy. The empirical cases further reaffirmed that the existence

of democratic non-transition among the deviant autocracies is understudied, and that this theme has largely been neglected in the existing studies and debates in the field.

The existing theories of democratisation (structural and process-driven explanations, as discussed in Chapter 2) placed a strong emphasis on transition to democracy and democratic stability or consolidation. The structural approach is apparently overdetermined to overgeneralise the findings in explaining transition to democracy. The existence of outliers was neglected and left unexplained. On the contrary, the actor-based approach is underdetermined, ignoring the importance of structural factors and while mainly focusing on the involvement of elites in explaining cases of democratic transition and democratic consolidation.

Explaining these outliers can enable us to understand more about the process of non-transition to democracy and contribute to the existing knowledge on theories of democratisation. There is inherent value in studying outliers. Bollen and Jackman (1990) identified several outliers while discussing the relationship between world system position and political democracy, and they argued that:

> Knowing that our estimates are affected by outliers raises the next question: What should we do with these observations? If we simply leave them in the sample and do nothing, we are left with a distorted picture of the relationship that characterises the bulk of the countries. If, on the other hand, we remove them from our sample, we are ignoring the fact that half a dozen of our cases are not fitted by the model. However, this drop or keep strategy does not exhaust the potential remedies, and, indeed, oversimplifies the alternatives. It is much more instructive to ask why these countries appear as deviant cases (p. 284).

The existence of deviant autocracies is not a new phenomenon, but many scholars have ignored such cases (see Lipset et al. 1993; Przeworski et al. 2000; Møllller and Skaaning 2013: 102) or have used controversial criterion to detect the outliers (Seeberg 2012).

This thesis aims to explain and understand this puzzle of deviant autocracies. The results can shed light on understanding deviant autocracies per se, and also improve our theoretical knowledge on the absence of democratisation. Mapping out those cases is just the first step (see this Chapter 3) but in the end we need to look for

explanations. To provide an analytical tool to explain deviant autocracies, the next chapter (Chapter 4) will introduce a middle-range, neo actor-based approach. This approach will integrate the existing process-driven approach in democratisation studies and concentrate on three important factors (elite, state capacity and international bargaining situation) in order to understand the lack of democratisation among deviant autocracies. It will also briefly introduce the small-N cases: Singapore and Hong Kong, which will be central in the qualitative, case-study oriented part of the thesis (Chapters 5 and 6).

Chapter 4: Understanding Deviant Autocracies: Reintroducing Agency

Introduction

This chapter aims to develop a middle-range analytical framework that draws on actor-based analysis to understand deviant autocracies in Asia. The analytical framework will be derived from the actor-based approach in democratisation studies (Karl 1990, 1997, 2005; Karl and Schmitter 1991, 1995; Rustow 1970; O'Donnell et al. 1986a, 1986b, 1986c; O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986; Schmitter and Karl 1994), elite theory (Bermeo 2010; Burton et al. 1992; Burton and Higley 1987; Etzioni-Halevy 1993; Greenwood 2008; Higley and Burton 1998, 2006; Mosca 1939; Pareto 1963 [1935]; O'Shaughnessy and Dodson 1999; Prewitt and Stone 1973; Singh 2016), models of the elite bargaining process (Case 1996, 2005, 2009b; Croissant 2014; Jayasuriya and Rodan 2007; Silva 1996; Sklair 2002; Thompson 2012; Tolstrup 2013) and elite-structure paradigms (Alexander 2008; Levitsky and Way 2002a, 2002b, 2013; Lundquist 1987).The analytical framework, as developed in this chapter, will however differ from the existing actor-based approach in several ways. First, it makes use of a historical analysis of international actors, focusing in particular on the bargaining situation between international and local elites; second, it focuses on how local elites gain power in the transitional period, i.e. the period before and after the emergence of deviant autocracy, so that they become the ruling elite in post-transitional society. Third, it accounts for how empowered actors make use of coercive state capacity to discourage pressure for democratisation from opposition actors, so as to protect ruling elites' individual and group interests.

This chapter is divided in four parts. The first part will provide an overview of the existing actor-based or process-driven approach in democratisation studies. In the second part, elite theory will be discussed, along with the elite bargaining situation in

Asia and the elite-institution paradigm, before introducing the analytical framework for deviant autocracies that I term a 'neo actor-based approach'. This focuses on the interaction between internal elites, external actors and state capacity, which is derived from the perspectives of the actor-based approach[15] in democratisation studies, elite theory, models of elite bargaining progress and elite-structure paradigms. Part three will outline the historical development of Hong Kong and Singapore in view of their elite bargaining situation and internal and external state capacity, paving the way for more detailed analysis in subsequent chapters. The last section will discuss the archival research data collection method used in the Hong Kong and Singapore case studies in Chapters 5 and 6.

4.1 Agency in Democratisation Studies

The two major theoretical traditions for explaining why democracies arise and endure are the structural and process-driven approaches (see Karl 1997: 758; Kitschelt 1992). As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the structural explanation fails to account for the increasing number of deviant autocracies. By contrast, the process-driven or actor-based approach downplays the importance of structural factors in predicting democratisation, focusing on the interactions and decisions of actors (see Karl 2005: 4). Successful transition to democracy depends substantially on the strategic choices of social elites. Hence, it is fruitful to use an actor-based approach to understand deviant autocracies in Asia.

[15] I must clarify that my understanding of the actor-based approach differs from the notions of agent-based models in economics, finance, medical sciences and computational sociology, which emphasise computer simulation or game-theoretic analysis (see Auchincloss et al. 2011; Axelrod 1997; Barr et al. 2008; Best and Lebiere 2006; Bonabeau 2002; Epstein 2006; Epstein and Axtell 1996; Farmer and Foley 2009; Fostel and Geanakoplos 2008; Gilli and Winker 2003; Macy and Willer 2002; Nannen et al. 2013; Noe et al. 2003; Ponte et al. 2017; Till 2010; Yang et al. 2011). The actor-based approach is refers to the same meaning of actor-oriented, process-driven or transition approaches in democratisation studies (see Doorenspleet 2005: 11).

The origins of the actor-based approach can be traced to Dankwart Rustow's paper *Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model*. Rustow (1970) outlined the different phases of democratisation. In the preparatory phase,

> the dynamic process of democratization itself is set off by a prolonged and inconclusive political struggle… the issues must have profound meaning to them [social classes]. Such a struggle is likely to begin as the result of the emergence of a new *elite* that arouses a depressed and previously leaderless social group into concerted action. (p. 352)

In the decision phase, the turn toward democracy 'results from the interplay of a number of forces', such as political leaders and elites representing the interest of industrialists and intellectuals. The final phase is habituation, which is usually called 'democratic consolidation' in democratisation studies (Rustow 1970: 356).

In the 1980s, the major advocates of the actor-based approach captured the essence of transition from authoritarian rule through systematic study of transitions from authoritarian regimes to democracy in 13 countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela in Latin America, and Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain and Turkey in Southern Europe (O'Donnell et al. 1986a; O'Donnell et al. 1986b; O'Donnell et al. 1986c; O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986). These studies laid the foundations for using the actor-based approach to study transition to democracy and democratic stability or consolidation. Schmitter and Karl (1994) emphasised that the approach must focus on 'a universalistic set of assumptions, concepts and hypotheses… [which] can explain and hopefully help to guide the way from an autocratic to a democratic regime' (p. 173).

The actor-based approach emphasises interaction between elites and other major actors in the process of transition. Actor-based theorists believe that interactions between actors such as incumbents (both hard-liners and soft-liners), military leaders and oppositional leaders and the mode of transition (outcome of the interactions) strongly affect the breakdown of authoritarian regimes and the establishment of democratic institutions (Karl 1990; Karl and Schmitter 1991, 1995; O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986).

The actor-based approach identifies four phases in the breakdown of an authoritarian regime, i.e. a transition to democracy. Actor-based theorists argue that the initial impulse for the transition of an authoritarian regime to democracy comes from the authoritarian regime itself, i.e. hard-liners and soft-liners. In the next stage, a domestic crisis or incident involving strong oppositional forces in the civilian population intensifies the cleavage between hard-liners and soft-liners and plays a major role in launching transition. In the third stage, military leaders play a crucial role in regime transition. Political elites need to deal carefully with military leaders to ensure the peaceful transference of military power to civilian government. This is vital in preventing military coups that disrupt the transition process. Finally, intense negotiation occurs among political elites, including incumbents (both hard-liners and soft-liners), military leaders and opposition leaders. Actors must reach a mutual agreement or 'pact' concerning the final political arrangement. This process is known as the 'mode of transition' (O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986: 15-37). Different modes of transition have a major effect on the resultant political system. For example, regimes that undergo '"transition by pact" are the most likely to lead to political democracy, followed by "transition by imposition"' (Karl and Schmitter 1991:282). According to Friedheim (1993), a 'pact is a mutual understanding between regime and opposition elites about how to reach free elections' (p. 491). Many actor-based theorists argue that transition by pact is favourable to democratic consolidation (see Di Palma 1990; Burton and Higley 1987: 300; O'Shaughnessy and Dodson 1999: 126).

In recent years, various scholars have further developed the actor-based approach. Some applied rational choice explanations or social network analyses to study democratisation in different regions (see Casper and Taylor 1996; Hermansson 1992; Osei 2015; Yilmaz 2002). The idea of elite cohesion is also used to explain the political survival of dictators (see Schedler and Hoffmann 2016: 94). In addition, international actors have been examined in studies of aid-dependent states and democracy promotion (Girod and Walters 2012: 182), political bargaining among Latin American countries during democratic transition (O'Shaughnessy and Dodson 1999: 126) and interaction between internal and external actors during democratisation

(see Tolstrup 2013: 718). These recent studies have provided inspiration for my own neo actor-based approach to analysing deviant autocracies in Asia.

The original actor-based approach is nonetheless far from perfect. It mainly focuses on internal division between elites, while external actors and bargaining between elites is largely overlooked. It also mainly focuses on successful stories rather than failed transitions or non-transitions. Indeed, there have been numerous challenges to its methodology and assumptions by specialists and practitioners (see Bunce 1995a: 93, 1995b: 981-987, 1995c: 118; Carothers 2002: 16; Kwon 2004: 358; Terry 1993: 334-336; Wiarda 2001; Welsh 1994: 381). More importantly, Schedler (2001) pointed out that the existing elite perspective can only explain democratic consolidation. It does not capture the reasons behind elite interaction—why they pursue a particular decision to turn against democracy. In the same vein, Petsinis (2010) argued that 'a growing number of regional specialists [have] stressed the necessity to elaborate new theoretical frameworks that would replace [the actor-based approach]' (p. 315).

To address the limitations of the existing actor-based approach and develop an analytical framework to explain and understand deviant autocracies in Asia. I develop a neo actor-based approach, with a more comprehensive and holistic analytical framework that gives us a better understanding of negotiation between international and domestic elites, and how the elite structure interacts to consolidate ruling elites' hold on power during the transitional period.

4.2 Neo Actor-based Approach

Elite Theory

To reintroduce agency into our understanding of deviant autocracies in Asia, this section begins with a brief discussion of the debate between elite and class theory, and why elite theory is better suited to elucidating the actor bargaining process. The

second part offers an overview of the current state of elite domination in Asia. Understanding the tendency toward elite domination is crucial in comprehending the dynamics and interaction of actors. The last part introduces the neo actor-based approach to help us to understand deviant autocracies in Asia, combining the actor-based approach, theories of elite bargaining and an elite-structure paradigm.

Classical elite theory mainly focuses on the concept of social elite. Elite theorists have focused on elite variability, such as governing and non-governing elites (see Mosca 1939; Pareto 1963[1935]), later shifting their focus to elite settlement, i.e. how governing elites monopolise state power through competition (see Burton and Higley 1987). Burton and Higley (1987) define elites as 'people who are able, through their positions in powerful organizations, to affect national political outcomes individually, regularly and seriously. Elites thus constitute a nation's top leadership in all sectors—political, governmental, business, trade union, military, media, religious and intellectual—including both 'establishment' and 'counter-elite' factions' (p. 296).

Early applications of elite theory focused on the United States. Mills (1956) used the term 'power elite' in his study of American society, to pinpoint the problematic inter-linkage between political, military and business elites. Other elite theorists echoed similar concerns about interlocking elite networks in the United States (see Domhoff 1983; Dye 1985; Useem 1984). Prewitt and Stone (1973) further demonstrate the importance of historical factors in the interminable struggle among elites, and suggest two principles:

> First, no matter what the dominant political ideology or the manner of organizing the State, every society can be divided into the small number who rule and the larger who are ruled. Second, the character of society and the direction it is taking can be understood in terms of the composition, structure, and conflicts of the ruling group. (p. 5)

As this brief overview suggests, elite theory is helpful in understanding the importance of elites in society and how they monopolise power. This is relevant for understanding non-transition to democracy in Asia, as a region with a long history of elite domination. Different elite groups in Asia are in continual competition to maximise their individual and group interests.

A closely related but different theoretical tradition concerning political power is offered by Marxist class theory (see Alford and Friedland 1985), which has been used to explain the cleavage between different classes during democratisation in Europe (see Moore 1966; Stephens 1989, 1993; Therborn 1977) and Asia (see Samudavanija and Parichart 1998:156; Ungpakorn 2007:52; Phongpaichit and Baker 2008: 78). Jäger (2012), for instance, argued in connection with the 2006 military coup in Thailand that the middle and upper class turn against democracy was mainly because they feared their wealth would be affected by the Thaksin administration's redistribution policies.

Yet the emphasis on confrontation between social classes to explain failed democracy or non-transition in Asia is superficial and undervalues the importance of elite competition behind the scene. Competition between domestic and international elites was evident in Thailand before and after the Asian Financial Crisis. Hewison (1999b: 31-32, 2002: 239-242, 2003: 5-6) showed that immediately after the crisis the power of local bankers significantly diminished and the power of international business investors in the banking, manufacturing and retail industries grew. The fundamental reason other elite groups turned against the government was that 'Thaksin adopted so-called populist and nationalist policies so that domestic business could gain control of the state through election. His opposition to neoliberal reform was couched in terms that promised domestic capital the space necessary to re-establish its competitiveness vis-à-vis foreign investors' (Jayasuriya and Hewison 2004: 572). To that extent, it is more accurate to say that the conflict was not primarily class-based but involved competition for power among elites from the business, political and economic sectors (see Harish 2006; Pye and Schaffar 2007).

The second problem with class based analysis concerns the difficulty of clearly defining and differentiating social classes. For example, Chua and Tan (1999: 140) used household income to artificially define Singapore's lower middle class in 1990 as having an income of $3,000 to $6,999 (29.6%) and the upper middle class as having an income of $7,000 to $9,999 (4.5%); 20.1% of the population was categorised as working class, falling in the income range $2,000 to $2,999. Thus, to take an extreme case, one dollar's difference in household income could transform a family from

working class to lower middle class. Indeed, a satisfactory definition of 'middle class' is elusive. The middle class from the perspective of a structural approach (as discussed in Chapter 2) plays a vital role in the process of democratisation. Yet the notion of the middle class is fuzzy, because it can be based either on economic criteria or the subjective perception of individual members (see Ansell and Samuels 2014: 40-56).

In the case of deviant autocracies in Asia, political competition has not hinged on class based interest, but on conflict between different elite groups. Indeed, Bermeo (2010: 1124) highlighted the importance of elites' self-interested behaviour during the process of transition to democracy. Elites' self-interest is a frequent theme in recent studies. Autocratic elites generally reject mass enfranchisement. With a restricted franchise, the rich can impose policies that are favourable to them (see Ansell and Samuels 2014: 37; Boix 2001; Knutsen 2011; Levi 1989; McGuire and Olson 1996; Niskanen 1997; Olson 1993). Ansell and Samuels (2014) stated that an 'elite-competition understanding of the dynamics of regime change suggests that incumbent elites' primary fear does not emanate from the poor, but from rising economic groups' (p. 59).

Recent studies showed that dominant political and military elites were competing with each other even in the process of drafting the constitution of Thailand (Hewison 2007a: 930, 2007b: 244, 2015: 55-27). The ruling elites in Asia are also eager to maintain social ties to other major stakeholders. There are, for instance, state funded think tanks in Singapore such as the Institute of South East Asian Studies (ISEAS), which has organised events since 1980 'to bring together a range of people from the private and public sectors… its choice of research agenda it has been highly responsive to the interests of the Singaporean state as well as Singaporean state elites' (Jayasuriya 1994: 417-418). In addition, according to Jayasuriya and Rodan (2007), '[d]ominant political elites seek to shape modes of participation in a particular direction. That will reflect an underlying political struggle over the forms of representation through which conflict is organized and limited' (p. 780). In short, we can distinguish between two levels of competition between elites: international actors compete with each other due to the international bargaining situation; while domestic

elites also compete with each other to maximise their political and economic interests during an unstable transitional period.

It is not obvious why some business elites support democracy and others do not (Greenwood 2008). In general, there are two camps within elite theory. The first sees the ruling elite as mainly motivated by personal and family benefit. The second argues that rulers perform necessary and socially beneficial tasks (see Prewitt and Stone 1973: 5-6; Singh 2016: 190). However, Etzioni-Halevy (1993) rightly emphasised that 'elites and sub-elites have both despotic and liberating potential' (p. 4). This assertion can be demonstrated in the context of Latin America (see Cardoso and Faletto 1978; Evans 1979), Arab society (Greenwood 2008: 854; Kamrava 2007) and Asia (Case 1996, 2002, 2005, 2009b; Croissant 2014; Jayasuriya and Rodan 2007; Silva 1996; Thompson 2012). In other words, without effective institutional mechanisms, such as checks and balances, separation of power, limitations on the power of rulers and greater liberty for the ruled, ruling elites tend to become autocratic and abuse their power. Institutions that counterbalance the power of elites, such as a meaningful opposition, academic elites who can conduct research freely, an independent judiciary and media free from government control, are vital to sustain democracy. To address Greenwood's (2008) question, it is clear that institutional structure has a decisive effect: it is important for democratic development that it not provide loopholes for rulers to usurp and manipulate power. Based on this analysis, Chapters 5 and 6 will show how ruling elites in deviant autocracies seize state capacity from international actors during the transitional period. The transitional period here refers to de-colonisation and the transfer of sovereignty, whether this involves independence or a transfer to another sovereign state.

During the transitional period of deviant autocracies, international actors play a vital role in shaping political institutions that favour a particular faction of the local elite. The notion that international influence shapes political institutions has been elaborated in several studies of democratisation, including discussions of the influence of the United States, European foreign policy, European Union membership negotiations, the United Nations and NAFTA (see Alexander 2008: 933). International actors themselves cannot influence the institutions of particular countries; they need

partners inside these countries, i.e. political actors and members of the business and professional elites (see Case 1996; Sklair 2002; Tolstrup 2013: 735). In the context of deviant autocracies in Asia, most such countries were former British colonies and are geographically and politically linked with communist China; thus, the international actors involved during the transitional period are mainly the United Kingdom and the People's Republic of China. In the cases of Singapore and Hong Kong, the transition was implemented with little involvement of local elites; in other words, the resultant system was designed by the former incumbents. Local elites were empowered in the process to safeguard the interests of international elites, and these empowered elites further stabilised and consolidated their autocratic power after transition.

Tendencies toward Elite Domination in Asia

To begin with, it is important to clarify that elite domination in Asia has nothing to do with so-called illiberal culture. By combining a cultural perspective with class theory, scholars have attempted to explain the persistence of non-democratic regimes in Asia; for example, Jones (1998) has suggested that an illiberal middle class culture is the source of autocracy. Nevertheless, cultural determinism cannot explain non-transition to democracy. It suffers from a fundamental logical problem: it cannot explain why democracy emerged in the first place. Cultural theorists also have difficulty explaining cases such as South Korea and Taiwan, which successfully experienced democratisation in the 1980s, yet have cultural experiences and roots similar to other Asian societies. The debate concerning liberal versus illiberal culture is largely irrelevant; the leaders in Asia simply find whatever 'ideological resource[s they need] for the construction of politics' (Chua 2010a: 204). Chua and Tan (1999), for example, argued that Singapore's political culture is 'largely shaped by the ideology and practice of the PAP' (p. 141). The evidence shows that interest oriented instrumental rationality offers a more accurate model (see Weber 1954), accounting for competition and common interests between the ruling and ruled elites. For example, civil servants remain loyal to the PAP government because they 'fear… being

fired and losing [their] pension' (Chua 2010b: 336). In addition, the state provision of public housing makes citizens more dependent, thus reducing their political power at the ballot box (see Chua 2000: 58).

Another argument related to the cultural explanation is the negative effect of religious belief on democracy. Many recent studies have however refuted such cultural determinism; they argue that religious actors in Islamic countries are not necessarily anti-democratic. Ruling elites' behaviour is implicitly interest-oriented in terms of their religious authority, legitimacy and position (see Künkler and Leininger 2009; Ozzano 2014: 608; Somer 2011: 538; Villalón 2015: 314). Hence, the democracy deficit in the Middle East seems to be due mostly to the power relationship between the state elite and social actors (Kamrava 2007). Consequently, to understand deviant autocracies in Asia one must focus on elite competition and bargaining to comprehend how different groups of elites collaborate to fully optimise their perceived interests.

Not surprisingly, many scholars have advocated studying elites to understand the development of democracy in Asia. As Ferdinand (2012) stated 'Democratization is not irresistibly determined by economic development. Agency is also critical' in Asia (p. 287). For Lundquist (1987), 'politics becomes a question of how some actors seek to maintain a social structure which operates to their advantage, and how other actors seek to change the structure to bring it into accord with their own particular goals' (p. 47). Jayasuriya and Rodan (2007) also explained issues around democratic transition and consolidation in Southeast Asia with reference to the participation of different elites based on socio-economic conflicts. Their analysis differs from so-called Western class analysis, being more focused on the interests of different social elites. Emmerson (2008: 79) attempted to replace a structural approach with a process-driven one in understanding the development of democracy in Asia since 1986, while Hadiz (2009) noted that no current scholar, 'in relation to the literature on contemporary Indonesian society, can [ignore] the role of social actors in his or her analysis' (p. 529).

The importance of elites' self-interest is convincingly demonstrated in the process of constitution-making in Southeast Asian countries. Croissant (2014) argued that 'dictators bother to create constitutions because it facilitates their objective of

political survival by, among other things, enabling coordination among multiple institutional actors and eliciting cooperation from a dictator's subjects' (p. 24). The potential interest of elites has been conceptualised in three different categories: the personal interests of constitution-makers, group interests of political parties and self-interest of political institutions (see Croissant 2014: 39-42; Elster 1993: 181-185). Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand are good examples of elite competition in Asia between ruling elites, various ethnically-delineated business elites and foreign investors (Case 2009a: 651-658). In addition, Case (1996) uses examples from Asia, including Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore, to show that elite relations and constituent networking contribute to the rise of non-democratic regimes. He suggests that '[c]ore elites usually wield most state power, enabling them to benefit their constituents directly. At the same time, denial of these benefits to others is equally important and amplifies the bland gratitude of recipients into more highly fevered loyalty' (p. 442).

Another major area in the literature closely related to elite domination is crony capitalism or patron-client relationships in Asia. Clientelism has been widely discussed (see Fox 1994; Scott 1969, 1972; Tarrow 1967; Weiner 1967), and these state-business collisions have been intensively studied by scholars in the Asian context (see Greenwood 2008; Kang 2003; Neher and Ross 1995; Silva 1996). Ironically, crony capitalism, while it is considered an advanced form of corruption, has also been deemed a new form of development for developing countries, because it lowers transaction costs between actors; South Korea, the Philippines and Indonesia are cases in point (Kang 2003: 439-442). Khan (2005) also argued for the positive effect of patron-client relationships, stating that '[e]conomic characteristics of developing countries make patron–client politics both rational for redistributive coalitions and effective as strategies for achieving the goals of powerful constituencies within these coalitions' (p. 704). This development model is widely accepted in Asia: it can be easily seen how the domination of business tycoons and elites in Indonesia (Case 2009a; Davidson 2009; Uhlin 1995), the Philippines (Case 2009a; Quimpo 2009) and Thailand (Case 2009a; Connors 2009) has hindered democracy.

Patron-client relationships are unfavourable for democratisation, especially when there are few institutional mechanisms to control ruling elites. Thompson (2012) argued that familial succession in Asia is a good example of how elite collusion or dynasticism works. In addition, Case (2009b) stated that,

> elites do not sit passively at the peak of their institutional hierarchies. They organize and navigate their apparatuses too, using them variously to energize or under-mobilize their followings, predisposed in their sentiments by structural forces. And further, in their pursuit of state power and patronage, elites engage other elites in ways that at their poles can be characterized as cohesive or fractious, therein impacting profoundly on the form and durability of the regimes that they operate. (p. 266)

To further consolidate their power, rulers in Southeast Asia skilfully manipulate mistrust between elites (Case 2005: 97). This does not mean that the future of Asian democracy is doomed. Etzioni-Halevy (1993) argued that when there is an institution to ensure the autonomy of elites, the state-business relationship is no longer a private matter between political and business elites. Elected rulers are accountable to voters. The exercise of power is also monitored by various institutions, such as the judiciary and media. Democracies have emerged in Latin America during the third wave of democratisation, featuring institutions that counteract the effect of elite collusion and prevent domination by business elites, even in regions strongly affected by clientelism (see Bucheli and Salvaj 2014: 535; Grugel 1998).

To understand how elites maximise their interest in political institutions, historical analysis is needed. Tilly (2002) made a case to pay attention to 'historical products, outcomes of struggle' (p. 123). Indeed, democratisation studies scholars have generally agreed that historical conditions have an important influence on regime transition (see O'Shaughnessy and Dodson 1999: 126; Prewitt and Stone 1973: 4; Singh 2016). Indeed, in the case of deviant autocracies, it is fruitful to analyse the struggle during the transitional period, i.e. the international and domestic elites' negotiations prior to de-colonisation and transfer of sovereignty. This enables us to understand how non-ruling elites during the colonial period empowered themselves during transition and subsequently became ruling elites. Burton and Higley (1987) also suggested that 'the origins of consensually unified elites and stable, representative

regimes must be sought in other circumstances. Colonial experience is the most obvious and most widely discussed… Consensually unified elites have most frequently originated in the habituation of major elite factions to open but peaceful competition while their society is still a colony or territorial dependency' (p. 297). Hence, historical analysis or a case-oriented systematic historical-comparative approach (see Capoccia and Ziblatt 2010; Kitschelt 1992: 1034) to the small-N cases in Chapters 5 and 6 can shed light on the elite bargaining situation between actors and how it contributes to non-transition to democracy in Singapore and Hong Kong.

State Capacity and Deviant Autocracies

To understand deviant autocracies, the linkage between elites' bargaining situation and state capacity must be understood. I use the term 'state capacity' differently from traditional developmental studies (see Evans 1989: 568; Evans 2008: 3-16; Evans 2012). The present analytical framework relies instead on the concept of state capacity in Mann (1984: 189), which involves a twofold division of state power into despotic and infrastructural power. Despotic or coercive capacity is the capacity of incumbent elites to control opposition: manipulation of the electoral framework, restrictions on speech and association, and use of military and police power to suppress opposition and challenges (see Albertus and Menaldo 2012a: 153; Alexander 2008: 931; Andersen, Møller, Rørbæk and Skaaning 2014: 1306-1307; Andersen, Møller and Skaaning 2014; Fortin-Rittberger 2012: 100-101; Fortin-Rittberger 2014; Mann 1984: 189; Seeberg 2014).

In recent years, many studies have used coercive capacity to explain the endurance of autocracies (see Albertus and Menaldo 2012a; Fortin 2012; Knutsen 2012; Levitsky and Way 2002a, 2002b, 2013; Seeberg 2014). Seeberg (2014: 1269-1272), for example, analysed Malaysia and the Philippines to illustrate how authoritarian regimes rely on measures such as control of elections, supermajority victories and suppression of opposition mobilisation and voter protests. In addition, Alexander (2008) stated that 'high coercive state capacity in general prevent[s]

democratization' (p. 941). Innes (2002) also pointed out that elite power interests may affect the despotic power of the state. In the cases of deviant autocracies, the ruling elites gained coercive capacity during the transitional period. Hence, the focus of the small-N cases is on negotiation between elites and its effect on the resultant system's coercive capacity.

The second dimension of state capacity is infrastructural or administrative capacity, the ability of the state to reshape civil society to implement state policies and reforms (see Alexander 2008: 931; Andersen, Møller and Skaaning 2014; Andersen, Møller, Rørbæk and Skaaning 2014: 1306-1307; Fortin-Rittberger 2012: 100-101; Fortin-Rittberger 2014; Mann 1984: 189). Infrastructural capacity is more closely related to democratic stability or longevity (see Andersen, Møller, Rørbæk and Skaaning 2014; Bäck and Hadenius 2008; Hanson 2015). This finding has been replicated in the context of postcommunist countries (Fortin 2012; Fortin-Rittberger 2012). Yet this type of state capacity is mainly relevant to democratic consolidation and survival. Because deviant autocracies have not transitioned to democracy, only coercive capacity is considered here in analysing elite bargaining situations.

Indeed, coercive capacity is crucial for the durability of autocratic regimes. According to Andersen, Møller, Rørbæk and Skaaning (2014), 'autocrats can often survive decades of bad performance through a mix of repression and cooptation of elites to secure a stable winning coalition' (p. 1308). Levitsky and Way (2002b) also noted that '[a]s long as autocratic incumbents do not cancel or openly steal elections or commit egregious human rights violations, they may be able to hold onto power for many years. Using techniques such as bribery, co-optation and various forms of 'legal' persecution, governments may limit opposition challenges without provoking massive protest or international repudiation' (p. 8). In the context of deviant autocracies, state power has been deliberately transferred to interest-oriented elites by international actors during the transitional period. Those local elites have been empowered with despotic capacity, without institutional constraints on their power.

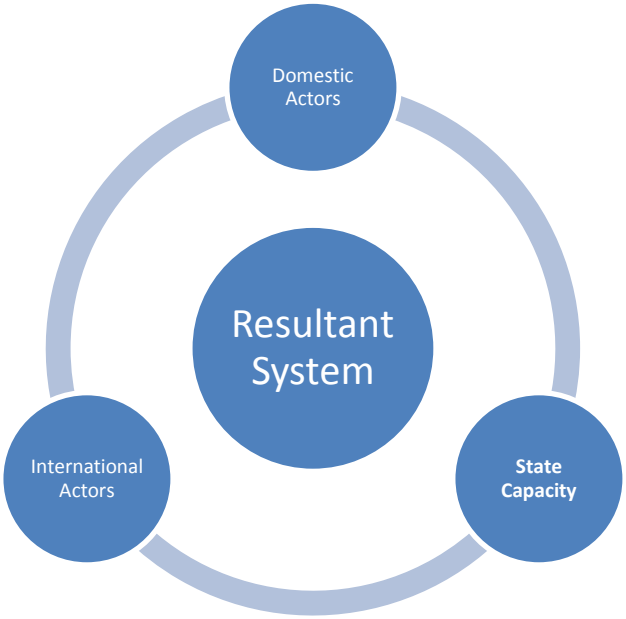
State capacity is thus narrowly defined in the context of deviant autocracies as coercive power sharing within the state apparatus that protects individual and group

interests for a specific set of elites. According to Alexander (2008), 'strong state capacity serves as a resource for elites to implement institutional change… hence, an authoritarian-leaning government will use coercive state capacity to increase repression… Strong states may be expected to retard democratization by helping elites consolidate an increasingly more authoritarian form of rule' (p. 931). This idea is consistent with the idea of elite autonomy; if elites can take control of political institutions in the absence of effective checks and balances, it is likely that ruling elites will dominate, which does not favour democratisation (see Etzioni-Halevy 1993). To compensate for a lack of democracy, the ruling elites of the deviant autocracies largely emphasise the provision of public goods and sustained, long-term economic growth to attain legitimacy for its authority. Domestic elites will also compete, building patron-client relationships to maximise individual and group interests (see Burton and Higley 1987: 297; Case 1996: 442; Kamrave 2007: 199).

Autocratic ruling elites rely on biased institutional arrangements to limit potential opposition to the political system. The nature of opposition is crucial to elite-institution interaction: as Alexander (2008) wrote, '[w]hen the elites decide the direction of institutional change, an opposition can serve to block a change in the direction of either democracy or autocracy. Beyond acting as a simple decelerator, the nature of the party cleavages within the opposition also plays an important role in influencing institutional change' (p. 932). Nevertheless, coercive state capacity is highly controlled by ruling elites, which 'prevent opposition parties from winning elections and replacing the government as in full procedural democracy' (Case 1996: 439). Schedler and Hoffmann (2016: 95) stated that in such a situation, the political system offers an 'absence of challenges to rulers'. The next section of this chapter will discuss Singapore and Hong Kong, to show how ruling elites monopolise political power within institutional arrangements.

To sum up, the neo actor-based approach focuses on the genesis of elite domination among deviant autocracies, applying historical analysis to the negotiations between international and domestic actors that have shaped the coercive state capacity toward autocracy (see Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1: Analytical Framework for Understanding Deviant Autocracies



Source: Inspired by Alexander (2008:931); Burton and Higley (1987:297); Case (1996:442, 2005:97, 2009b:257); Etzioni-Halevy (1993); Jayasuriya and Rodan (2007:776); Kamrave (2007:199); Levitsky and Way 2002b:10-17; O'Shaughnessy and Dodson (1999:126); Tolstrup (2013:735)

Within this framework, post-transitional ruling elites dominate political power in three ways. First, ruling elites claim that their monopolisation of political power is not for individual interest, but for the benefit of society as a whole. The ruling elites in Singapore and Hong Kong have made claims of this sort after transition (see Hewison 1999a: 232; Ortmann 2014a: 123-125; Rao and Wang 2007: 357). Ruling elites rely on this claim to maintain legitimacy, and the incumbent also claims a track record of freedom from corruption, economic prosperity and stability to prevent potential challenges from the opposition. The second factor is related to cohesion within ruling elites (see Levitsky and Way 2002b: 10-17). If there are different elite factions in a society, any policy that jeopardises individual, group or factional interests within the ruling elites may affect elite unity (see Burton and Higley 1987: 296; Dahrendorf 1969; Fleron 1969; Field and Higley 1985). The third factor is whether the opposition works within the unequal distribution of political power in the institutional framework, or

seeks to use radical means to challenge the ruling elites and existing system. In Singapore and Hong Kong, the opposition has mainly relied on 'non-violent and institutional means' (Osei 2015: 533) to press for greater democracy. Indeed, the opposition has little choice, as the military is tightly controlled by the ruling elites and the electoral system also favours the ruling elites. The next section elaborates this point in more detail.

4.3 The Situation in Hong Kong and Singapore

This section provides an overview of the political situation in Hong Kong and Singapore before and after the transitional period. In addition to the quantitative data presented in Chapter 3, it offers a detailed explanation why Hong Kong and Singapore are regarded as autocracies. This section also sets the scene for the small-N case studies in Chapter 5 and 6 using the proposed analytical framework; the international negotiations between international and local actors have been highlighted to show how elites have shaped institutions to protect their perceived interests. The institutional arrangement in both cases provides the ruling elites a strong state capacity to control society and consolidate their non-democratic rule. As a result, the opposition has difficulty challenging the ruling elites using formal and institutional channels.

Hong Kong: Historical Background

Democracy did not exist in Hong Kong during the colonial period; only the wealthy and privileged had political influence, and the system was in theory one of benevolent paternalism (see England 1971: 214-215; Pepper 2000: 416-417). Overholt (2001) argued that 'the British governors had basically been dictators, able to impose changes at will, and with a vast policy and administrative apparatus in London to back them up'

(p. 11). The power enjoyed by the Hong Kong governor is described in detail by Ghai (1991: 797-798) and is set forth in the former constitutional instruments the Hong Kong Letters Patent and Hong Kong Royal Instructions (Colonial Office 1931). According to Pepper (2000), 'British colonies were typically led by all-powerful governors sent out from London, who appointed the members of their Executive and Legislative Councils' (p. 412).

This colonial structure was based on a double principle of subordination: the colonial executive was subordinated to the Colonial Office of Britain and the colonial legislature was subordinated to the colonial executive (see Wight 1952: 17). Norman Miners (1986), former head of the Department of Politics and Public Administration at the University of Hong Kong, noted that '[i]n 1984 the Legislative and Executive Councils were still composed entirely of officials and unofficials nominated by the Governor without a single elected member, just as they have been for the past 140 years' (p. 463). The British government attempted to promote limited democracy in Hong Kong from the 1950s onward, but without success (see Overholt 2001: 7; Miners 1986).

The Elite Bargaining Situation and State Capacity in Hong Kong

The elite bargaining situation in Hong Kong prior to the transitional period mainly involved local business and government elites. There was limited political participation in the colonial era and it was monopolised by the business and professional elites. Under the so-called 'administrative absorption of politics' (see King 1975), the business elites, usually British based business conglomerates, were appointed by Governors to take up important positions in the Hong Kong government (see Chiu 1994: 52-63; Choi 1999: 144). After the transition, the pro-British elites immediately lost their influence and were replaced by conservative pro-Beijing elites. As Kuan (1991: 781-782) predicted, the conservative group attempted to retain its influence and benefits after the handover by developing a 'working relationship' with

the Chinese government. In return, pro-Beijing elites received reciprocal benefits from the government in terms of business opportunities and social status (see Kwong 2007).

During the transitional period, Beijing and London actors negotiated with each other regarding the post-transitional institutional arrangement of Hong Kong. They engineered the Chief Executive and Legislative Council 'to ensure that it would be dominated for at least ten years by economic and managerial experts… In short, the idea was to get the benefits of representation without sacrificing a certain authoritarian capacity for dispatch and decisiveness' (Overholt 2001: 5-6). Hence, Kuan (1991) predicted that before and after the handover, Hong Kong would 'remain a dependent polity' (p. 774). Indeed, the result of the handover as described by Baum (2000:439) was a legislature with limited power to enact new laws and a Chief Executive who is not democratically elected. This institutional arrangement was the result of negotiation between the British and Chinese government elites in the 1980s. They agreed to the idea of 'One Country Two Systems' as a guiding principle after Hong Kong reverted to China, and the Chinese government insisted that 'well water and river water should not mix' (Pepper 2000: 411). This arrangement ensured a relatively smooth transition for the economic system. In his 2000 book, Ferdinand, for example, showed the importance of maintaining the Hong Kong monetary system and the principle of 'One Country Two Systems' (p. 42). These arrangements were formally written into the mini constitution of Hong Kong—the Basic Law. Both international actors attempted to maximise benefit to both sides. By maintaining the status quo they retained the confidence of local citizens and avoided fluctuation and uncertainty that might hinder the business and ruling elites' interests.

British and Chinese actors carefully crafted a post-handover institution that controlled state capacity and opposition in Hong Kong. The resultant system discouraged party politics. The opposition, especially advocates for democracy, could not make use of institutional channels to promote democratic development due to the lack of political parties before the late 1980s (Lau and Kuan 2000: 705). Even since the handover, political parties have been weak due to constraints imposed by the political structure (Lau and Kuan 2002: 1027).

After the promulgation of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1985, the National People's Congress of China formed the Basic Law Drafting Committee and Basic Law Consultative Committee. These committees were dominated by 'business and industrial sectors who favoured a conservative approach to political reform'; hence the Basic Law 'can be regarded as a pact between the business and industrial elites in Hong Kong' (Kuan 1991: 785). More importantly, due to Beijing's adoption of the infamous United Front strategy, functional constituency representation within the Legislature Council, Preparatory Committee and Selection Committee of the SAR was dominated by pro-Beijing business elites (see Goodstadt 2000: 729-732; Hook 1993: 851; Pepper 2000: 429-431). Various measures were implemented to prevent social movements or political reforms that would threaten the elites' interests, while the opposition lacked economic power to fight for greater democracy (see Chan and Kwok 1999: 51-61; Chan and Lee 2007; Kuan 1991: 781-782; Lui 1999: 97-98; Ortmann 2010a; Ma 2007; Sing 2010).

To further ensure political stability after the handover, the Beijing government was eager to recruit and select the post-colonial elites, including the business and professional elites (see Goodstadt 2000: 722; Ho et al. 2010). This reciprocal relationship has been described in a recent study (Kwong 2007: 389, 398; Table 1). For example, the method of electing the Chief Executive has simply reinforced patron-client relationships through the exchange of benefits, such as business opportunities, public resources, appointments to committees, medals and honours, to ensure clients' loyalty toward the Beijing government.

The Basic Law is the constitutional document of Hong Kong, in addition to the pact between the British and Chinese governments; these both include numerous arrangements impeding democratic elections of the Chief Executive and Legislative Council (see Baum 2000: 440-441; Hook 1993: 846-847; Holliday et al. 2004: 260; Kuan and Lau 2002: 59; Kwong 2007: 390; Lau and Kuan 2000: 707; Pepper 2000: 411). It is not surprising that the 1998 Legislative Council election, the first after the handover, was condemned by observers due to its lack of representation (see Chan and Kwok 1999: 51-61); the general public were dissatisfied with the government's overall performance (see Kuan and Lau 2002: 62-63; Lui 1999: 101; Tang 1999: 6) and

criticised it for colluding with business interests (So 2000: 377). In addition, the state-press relationship deteriorated, as the government imposed increasing controls on the press and prosecuted journalists (see Ma 2007; Lui 1999: 97-98). The autonomy of HKSAR was severely reduced after the 1997 sovereignty transfer (see Holliday et al. 2004: 258-259).

Not surprisingly, Chinese legal scholars have reaffirmed that legitimacy and government performance are crucial in deterring challenges to the domination of the pro-Beijing elite. They argued that China will maintain Hong Kong's 'stability' and 'prosperity' under the 'one country, two systems' framework. They promoted the idea that 'Hong Kong is much more democratic than it was before 1997' (Rao and Wang 2007: 357). The idea of stability and prosperity are often used not only by Chinese officials but also British colonial officials. This is unsurprising, as the colonial government attained legitimacy from materialistic and pragmatic Hong Kong citizens within a non-democratic political structure (see Goodstadt 2004; King 1975; Lau 1984; Sing 1996; Scott 1989). This instrumental mentality even made economic prosperity and democracy into two conflicting values in Hong Kong—a zero-sum game (see Lam and Mok 1997). In any case, the political situation of Hong Kong can be classified as non-democratic or autocratic from the perspective of scholars and quantitative measurement (see Lau and Kuan 2000: 720; Marshall et al. 2011; Kuan and Lau 2002: 58; Sing 1996: 344). The local elites in Hong Kong were manipulated by British colonial actors before the handover and then by Beijing's ruling elites after 1997 to justify and maintain a non-democratic regime.

Singapore: Historical Background

The colonial political structure of Singapore resembled Hong Kong's, and given their similar colonial legacy and socio-economic trajectory, Hong Kong and Singapore may be regarded as twin city-states (Low 2001: 437). The Singapore Governor enjoyed absolute power in the colony, appointing all government officials and only being accountable to the Colonial Office in London (see Pepper 2000; Wight 1952). Means

(1996) argued that the 'colonial system, even in its most benevolent phases, [was] highly authoritarian' (p. 104). Singapore Governors had usually served before in other British colonies, including Hong Kong; this is true of George Bonham, Cecil Clementi, Franklin Charles Gimson and Robert Brown Black. The colonial administrators were quite familiar with the colonial political structure, and that structure remained stable for over one hundred years. Changes only occurred after the Second World War, when the British government pursued a policy of de-colonisation, and strove to de-centralise local elites to prepare for the post-colonial era. In the case of Singapore, the Rendel Constitution introduced in February 1955 promoted greater representation of elected members in the legislature, which led to competition between local elites on the basis of ethnic, individual and group interests.

During the colonial period, elections were dominated by pro-British and professional elites. Periodic elections with a limited franchise were introduced in Singapore during the transitional period immediately before independence. Bellows (1967) argued that Singapore had a 'relatively open competitive party system' in the 1950s (p.122). However, one major problem was the limited franchise: Singapore society at that time contained a significant number of people under 18, and only so-called British subjects could vote. It is not surprising that pro-British professionals and entrepreneurs dominated the Progressive Party, also known as the 'Chinese Chamber of Commerce party', which held a political stranglehold over seats in the legislature (Bellows 1967: 128). With the 1955 political reforms in the wake of the Rendel Constitution, the Labour Front, a newly formed political party representing workers' interests, managed to defeat the Progressive Party in the 1955 election, and their leader David Marshall became the first Chief Minister of Singapore. Further significant changes in suffrage occurred before the 1959 general election, according to Bellows (1967): '[o]ne hundred and fifty-eight thousand voted in 1955. Five hundred and twenty-eight thousand voted in 1959' (p. 128). The People's Action Party (PAP) and its leader Lee Kuan Yew, a professional and primarily Western-educated elite group, claimed a landslide victory and attained 43 out of 51 seats in the Legislative Assembly.

The 1959 election resulted in a major power transfer from one political party to another. Ironically, such a transfer never happened again after the PAP came to

power. The ruling elites made use of electoral laws to outlaw opposition parties. The PAP created a 'one-party system… Although 16 political parties are registered, none of the 15 opposition parties can pose a serious threat to the ruling People's Action Party (PAP) in an electoral struggle' (Chan 1976: 425). Nam (1969) stated that 'the PAP government was reluctant to encourage the development of an opposition party' (p. 469). Consequently, the 'PAP has held power since the first general elections of the island city state in 1959, and in the most recent 1972 general elections it was returned to power with a 69.2 percent majority vote and all of the 65 seats in Parliament' (Chan 1976: 425). Hitherto, the PAP has successfully won all seats from 1968 to 1980 and held over 90% of Parliamentary seats from the 1980s onward (Elections Department Singapore 2015). George (2007) similarly observed that 'Singapore's ruling party has never lost power since 1959. Opposition parties have not occupied more than four seats in parliament since 1966' (p. 132).

There was little improvement in the 2011 and 2015 elections, in which opposition candidates won 6 out of 87 seats and 6 out of 89 seats, respectively; this hardly posed a significant challenge to the ruling elites in Singapore. In view of this situation, it is not surprising that scholars and existing quantitative measures classified Singapore as an autocracy (see Marshall et al. 2011; Møller and Skanning 2013b).

The Elite Bargaining Situation and State Capacity in Singapore

The ruling elites in Singapore have maintained their hold on power since independence by various measures, such as implementation of strategic economic plans for sustained long term growth, avoidance of corruption, effective response to challenges from the opposition, a compelling nation-building ideology and effective control of the press (see Bellows 1967: 136-137; Chua 1995; George 2000 and 2007). We now turn to a brief overview of those measures and policies.

The government effectively controls society by careful selection of the ruling elites. Chan (1976: 428-430) listed the ruling elites represented by the PAP's elected

MPs: technocrats, mobilisers, Malay vote-getters and Chinese-educated intellectuals. The intention is to ensure representation of the interests of all classes and ethnic minorities. In addition, the

> political elites mainly in the cabinet demonstrate strong group cohesion and continuity of leadership among the small and self-perpetuating circle of ministers. The achievement of group solidarity in Lee's present cabinet is largely due to the ministers' common educational and occupational backgrounds. Virtually all of them were educated in the English or English-medium institutes… Prior to entering the cabinet, almost all of them were successful lawyers, economists, or doctors. (Nam 1969: 470)

As in Hong Kong, professional elites in Singapore are heavily represented in government departments, statutory bodies and government-linked companies, aka GLCs (see Rodan and Jayasuriya 2009: 30). In addition, as George (2007: 142) noted, political elites also control the instruments of coercion; for example, the Prime Minister and other ruling elites within the government retain high-ranking positions in the military. These inter-locking arrangements increase the government's ability to counteract challenges from the opposition.

Gerrymandering tactics contribute to one-party domination. According to Levitsky and Way (2002a), a competitive authoritarianism regime tends to

> create an uneven playing field between government and opposition… incumbents routinely abuse state resources, deny the opposition adequate media coverage, harass opposition candidates and their supporters, and in some cases manipulate electoral results. Journalists, opposition politicians, and other government critics may be spied on, threatened, harassed, or arrested. (p. 53)

Means (1996) gave one example, which is the creation in 1988 of multimember Group Representation Constituencies (GRCs). On paper, the intention is to increase representation of ethnic minorities. In reality, it is simply a strategy 'to block the formation of ethnically based parties and create a greater electoral hurdle for opposition parties. In practice, the GRC system only increased Malay MPs from 9 to 10, while Indian MPs remained at 6 and Eurasian MPs decreased from one to none' (p. 107). In addition, when the 'opposition Workers' Party finally gained parliamentary representation by winning a by-election in 1981… its leader, J.B. Jeyaretnam, found

himself expelled from Parliament and disqualified from contesting elections'. Another example is 'the 1984 elections, [in which] the opposition gained a pair of seats; it was reduced to a single seat in 1988' (pp. 107-108). Rodan and Jayasuriya (2009) pointed out that there is even 'discrimination in the dispensing of state infrastructure against electorates voting for opposition parties' (p. 29).

Another effective way to exercise control is through ideological indoctrination. Immediately after independence in 1965,

> Lee Kuan Yew called upon Singapore's citizenry to support a comprehensive survival strategy…asked Singaporeans to give the PAP a sweeping mandate for 'strong and decisive rule' unencumbered by a parliamentary opposition or public debate over contentious issues. Parliamentary institutions provided the legitimizing rituals for the exercise of paternalistic and authoritarian rule. (Means 1996: 105-106)

The schooling system is an ideal channel for diffusing ideology. Nasir and Turner (2013) showed that '[e]ducational policies to foster citizenship values in Singapore emphasised obedience to the state rather than knowledge of democratic principles' (p. 340). National Education and citizenship education in Civic and Moral Education address issues central to Singapore's survival and success (see Han 2000: 71). The core idea transmitted to pupils is that political instability must be avoided, as it may jeopardise the country's economic stability. The official reason for maintaining one-party domination is because the majority of the public in Singapore is 'illiterate' and not politically mature enough to discuss social and political issues, and thus vulnerable to 'chauvinistic instigators' or 'unscrupulous manipulators' (see Han 2000: 71; Nam 1969: 468). Apart from ideological control, the ruling elites also make use of laws and regulations to serve their political goals.

Oppositional leaders, associations and media are strictly controlled. As Nam (1969) described it clearly: 'In the period 1963-65 alone, Lee banned ten student and trade union publications for security reasons and also withdrew the license of the FAJAR, the organ of the University of Singapore [now National University of Singapore] Socialist Club' (p. 475). Additionally, various laws and regulations, such as the Internal Security Act, the Preservation of Public Security Ordinance and the Societies Ordinance, have been enacted to suppress potential challenges to authority.

Opposition MPs and leaders such as Chia Thye Poh and Francis Seow were detained or arrested without warrant or trial (see George 2007: 132, 139; Means 1996: 109; Nam 1969: 472-473; Rodan 2003: 508). According to Slater (2012), '[o]ngoing legal and political intimidation of oppositionists (and the districts that looked primed to back them) ensured that the PAP would not even face an opponent in more than half of Singapore's districts until 2006' (p. 29).

Defamation suits are often used against oppositional leaders, such as Dr Chee Soon Juan, leader of the Singapore Democratic Party and former lecturer at the National University of Singapore, who went bankrupt as a consequence of two lawsuits by Lee Kuan Yew and Goh Chok Tong (Chee 2012: i). The government has also imposed many controls on the media, including electronic media and the internet. The state owned Singapore Broadcasting Corporation owns all radio and television channels. Privately owned newspapers' board of director appointments must be approved by the government. Financial penalties are often imposed on foreign media, including journalists and political commentators. This indirect press censorship has forced the media to adopt self-censorship to avoid confrontation with the government (see George 2007: 133-137; Mauzy and Milne 2002: 128; Means 1996: 109-110; Rodan 2003, 2004: 16).

In short, both Hong Kong and Singapore are typical deviant autocracies: they have prosperous economies and are ruled non-democratically by elites (Kuan and Lau 2002: 58; Lau and Kuan 2000: 720; Myhre 2010; Reilly 2013: 157; Roy 1994: 242; Sing 1996, 2004). As we have seen, elite domination in present-day Hong Kong and Singapore is closely related to British colonial history and the elite bargaining situation during the transitional period. For this reason, it is fruitful to examine in detail, using the neo actor-based analytical framework, the way that elites dominate the political arena. The analysis not only enables us to understand deviant autocracies in Asia, but contributes to democratisation studies by showing the reasons for non-transition to democracy.

4.4 Data Collection Method for Small-N Analysis

The archival method is used to collect data for case studies of Singapore (Chapter 5) and Hong Kong (Chapter 6). According to Kapiszewski et al. (2015), 'national archives [are] "low-hanging fruit" – publicly available and located in places (e.g. archives and libraries) that are familiar and comfortable for academics. These qualities can make gathering such materials relatively easy, and immediately make progress' (p. 165). I have visited archives in Hong Kong, Singapore and London from 2013 to 2015.[16] Only the National Archives in London, it turns out, provide the data required for this thesis. Documents in the archives in Hong Kong and Singapore have sometimes been destroyed by the governments (see Kapiszewski et al. 2015: 171); the remaining documents are mainly stored in London, the former colonial capital. Because the focus of the small-N analysis is the transitional period, I have relied primarily on the London archives, which contain important data on the interaction and decision making process among actors during this period. The data are also openly available to access due to the 30-year transfer rule (see Burnham et al. 2004: 202).

Regarding historical source materials, Lichtman and French (1978) provided a very refined categorisation: 'Historians… usually refer to evidence produced at the time of the event as "primary", and accounts written later as "secondary"… and tertiary source are "historical" accounts written afterward to reconstruct the event' (p. 18). The small-N analysis here mainly relies on primary and tertiary sources. The primary source is mainly documents from the archives, and the tertiary source is memoirs of different actors in Hong Kong (Chung 2001; Lu 2009) and Singapore (Lee 1998) during the transitional period. This triangulation method is generally regarded as a valid approach to field research, as it 'allows the strengths of the data gathered using one mode of collection to offset the weaknesses of those gathered using another' (Kapiszewski et al. 2015: 158). It can also verify the validity of the data and

[16] I visited National Archives of Singapore on 3-9 January 2014; Public Records Office in Hong Kong on 3-5 February 2014; and the National Archives in London three times in March 2013, July 2014 and June 2015.

fill in information gaps. Because sources are written by different actors with conflicting interests, it provides a holistic view of events.

I sampled archive data through careful advance planning. I visited the National Archives three times to apply for a reader ticket, identified relevant materials and collected data,[17] staying near the National Archives from 1 to 10 July 2014 and 17 to 23 June 2015 collected the archive documents for Singapore and Hong Kong cases. Data were copied using professional digital cameras. I have adopted two strategies in my data collection. The first is a common practice of historically oriented social scientists: 'ordering a series of events or processes chronologically and without gaps' (Kapiszewski et al. 2015: 167). Another strategy is identifying a cut-off point (see Saunders 2010), i.e. the transitional period in Hong Kong before the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration and the independence of Singapore in 1965.

There are several advantages and disadvantages to archival research. The researcher can use this method to build theories, develop research questions, select cases, generate and test hypotheses, and illuminate causal processes and mechanisms (see Kapiszewski et al. 2015: 160-164). It also helps clarify the dilemmas and decisions of leaders (see Mahoney 2001). However, there are also limitations. First, archive data was not originally created for academic research. As Kapiszewski et al. (2015) note, '[t]he archives were not organized to fit your project!' (p. 165). Second, the data may be biased. As Kapiszewski et al. (2015) stated, 'such sources' pre-existing nature means that they are remnants and artefacts that reflect the choices and interests of other scholars or cross-influences that often remain unknown to a researcher who pulls them from an archive box decades or centuries later' (p. 157). In some extreme cases, for example in the context of authoritarian regimes such as China, there are biases in state-generated archives (see Chen 2010: 22; Stoler 2002: 108-109). To overcome these problems, I have read significant amounts of archive documents[18] to dig out the relevant data for analysis. I also adopted the triangulation method discussed above. In addition, I concur with Kapiszewski et al. (2015) that scholars must

[17] From March to May 2014, preparation work have been done to search and identify relevant archives information from the National Archive's catalogue for the Hong Kong case; From February to April 2015, the same procedure was conducted to prepare for the Singapore case's materials.

[18] For both Singapore and Hong Kong cases, I have analysed around 20,000 pages of archive documents.

'take any biases they encounter into account as they interpret the sources' and 'report them in their scholarship so that readers can also take them into consideration' (p. 176). In short, archive data must be examined carefully and critically with reference to the historical context of the archives' original creation, and cross checked with other material sources.

Conclusion

A more sophisticated and holistic analytical framework, the neo actor-based approach with supporting empirical evidence, is in my view needed for understanding the political development of deviant autocracies from three perspectives: elite negotiation, elite competition and state capacity. The existing actor-based approach focuses on the interaction of internal elites. While it is valuable for explaining democratic transition and consolidation, it is inadequate for understanding the non-transition to democracy among deviant autocracies in Asia. The neo actor-based approach solves this problem by considering a wider range of elites, including international and domestic actors. The British, as the former colonial master of Singapore and Hong Kong, had significant political and economic influence during the transitional period, i.e. the process of decolonisation and transfer of sovereignty. Another external actor, communist China, also shaped the resultant system due to the influence of the Chinese diaspora, China's geopolitical influence in Asia and the ideological confrontations of the Cold War era.

The factionalisation of interest-oriented local elites in Hong Kong and Singapore has also played an important role in sustaining autocratic regimes. The period following the transfer of sovereignty became an arena for competition between colonial rulers, business elites associated with former rulers, external actor(s) involved in sovereignty disputes, local business and professional elites and opposition factions. The former colonial ruling elites and international actors had to decide which elite faction to support, to represent their perceived interests in the resultant system. They consequently empowered a specific group of local elite, so that it became the ruling

elite in post-transitional society. These empowered elites gained a robust coercive state capacity to protect the interests of different involved actors, in the form of institutional arrangements deterring potential challenges from the opposition and safeguarding the political domination of ruling elites.

This analytical framework for interaction between the major internal and external elites during transition aims to shed light on how elite competition shapes the state to protect their interests. The following chapters use archival data from Singapore and Hong Kong to examine how international actors interacted with local elites, and how the empowerment of post-transitional ruling elites led to coercive state capacity in the resultant system. It is expected that the domination of political power and a corresponding absence of limitations on rulers' power has resulted in persistently non-democratic regimes.

Chapter 5: Elite Competition and Communist Threat in Singapore

Introduction

Singapore has been an important trading hub in Southeast Asia since the 19th century, and has had a higher income than other countries in the region since the 1960s (see Daquila 2004: 8-9; Tan 2007: 854-855; Trocki 2006: 8-18; United Nations Development Programme 2015: 208). As discussed in the previous chapter, Singapore has also had a distinctive political system since independence. Political power in the city-state is dominated by the People's Action Party (PAP), which has implemented various mechanisms of electoral and social control to eliminate potential opposition. This qualifies Singapore's political regime as a deviant autocracy.

This chapter presents a case study with process tracing to explain how Singapore became a deviant autocracy. Based on qualitative analysis of government archival materials from the United Kingdom, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya, three periods of Singapore's political history are addressed in chronological order: 1) a pre-transitional colonial period, prior to the initial attempt to reform Singapore's political system in the early 1950s by introducing a 'member' system and indirect elections; 2) a transitional period from the mid-1950s to 1965, when the Rendel Commission introduced elections and party politics as part of a decolonisation framework; and 3) a post-transitional period beginning in August 1965, when Singapore became an independent sovereign state.

Using the neo actor-based analytical approach developed in Chapter 4, this chapter investigates three major factors – state capacity, external actors and internal elites – to explain the failed transition to democracy in Singapore. Several groups of elites are shown to have interacted and competed to protect and maximise their own interests. This conflict of interests was particularly intense in the transitional period of

decolonisation and nation building, which offers crucial insights into the genesis of Singapore's autocratic regime prior to the transfer of sovereignty. Singapore had a fully elected legislature for the first time during this period, in the 1950s. In addition, Singapore merged with the Federation of Malaya in 1963, then dramatically separated from the Federation and became an independent state in 1965. Detailed investigation of the interactions between major elites involved in this series of incidents can help us to explain the emergence of a deviant autocracy in Singapore.

The major finding of the empirical case study analysis reported here is that Singapore's failure to transition to democracy was mainly due to economic, political, military and community-based conflict among elite groups fragmented both internally and externally.[19] During decolonisation, Britain's 'divide and rule' policies and the Malayan Emergency exacerbated conflict between elite factions divided along racial and occupational lines. In addition, the Cold War mentality compelled British decision makers to transfer power from business elites, who had led Singapore during the colonial period, to professional technocrats who exhibited both an anti-Communist orientation and loyalty to Britain. During the transitional period, the former British elites entrusted local Singapore ruling elites, namely the PAP and its leader, with political responsibility, enabling them to exercise authoritarian rule for more than half a century.

This chapter is divided into three parts, corresponding to the three periods highlighted at the beginning of this chapter. The analytical framework is designed to address the connections between state capacity, external elites (such as British officials,[20] Federation of Malaya ruling elites and Communists) and internal elites (such as professional and business elites, elites from different ethnic groups and traditional

[19] Elite fragmentation, as opposed to elite cohesion, led potential autocrats to compete with each other during the transitional period. However, on assuming power, the authoritarian elites adopted various measures to promote elite cohesion, such as co-opting potential opponents to 'consolidate a fully closed regime' (see Levitsky and Way 2002a: 62). Hadenious and Teorell (2007: 150-152) discuss types of authoritarian regime and their durability in relation to elite cohesion.

[20] The term 'British colonial ruling elites' refers to colonial officers based in Singapore and the Federation of Malaya, such as the Governor and the High Commissioner; Cabinet ministers; and officials affiliated with the London-based Colonial Office.

indigenous rulers) to shed light on the reasons for the emergence of a deviant democracy in Singapore (see Appendix A).

5.1 Pre-transitional Period

In the pre-transitional period, the colonial ruling elites in Singapore exercised effective control of society, with a relatively stable autocratic polity. During the 1950s, however, political reform incited conflict between local elite factions, who competed to secure their own interests. This section also provides an overview of the process by which China and Malaya became influential external actors in Singapore's transitional period.

State Capacity

The British colonial rulers successfully deployed Singapore's coercive state capacity to control society. Singapore's political system in the British colonial period was non-democratic (see Chapter 4). The colonial Governor and the Colonial Office in London possessed absolute power over the colony. Singapore was officially under the control of Britain from 1824, with the signing of the Anglo-Dutch Treaty, and attained Crown colony status in 1867. As in other former British colonies, the Governor was appointed by the British government and senior government positions were held predominantly by British expatriates. In the early 1950s, after the Second World War, the political structure of Singapore was still dominated by officials appointed by the British government (see Means 1996; Pepper 2000; Wight 1952).

In the early 1950s, immediately before Singapore's decolonisation, the colonial ruling elites proposed political reforms to meet administrative needs, particularly the need for more officials to help the Governor run the government after the Second World War. This constraint was acknowledged in an secret internal government

document of 25 February 1952, entitled *Proposed Introduction of a 'Member' System in Singapore*.

> The increase in volume and scope of Government business post war causes a serious bottleneck in the Colonial Secretariat and the Colonial Secretary… The basis of the Member system which has been introduced into the Government of the Federation of Malaya and elsewhere is the devolution of responsibility to Members (Official or Unofficial) who are made directly responsible to Government for the efficient functioning of a department of departments. (TNA: FCO 141/14499)

The author of a secret document dated 6 December 1951 and entitled *Scheme for 'Member' System in the Colony* suggested that the Legislative Council should have 'three elected members', and that the Executive Council should be increased by two unofficial members, 'elected by the Unofficial Members of [the] Legislative Council from amongst themselves' (TNA: FCO 141/14499). However, the elected members came mainly from a business chamber with a narrow mandate, loyal to the colonial ruling elites (see TNA: DO 35/6288; TNA: FCO 141/14499). The purpose of increasing the number of elected members in the Legislative Council and introducing a member system was merely 'to relieve the bottle-neck in the Secretariat', as noted in 1951 by the Governor of Singapore, Sir Franklin Gimson, in a letter to Sir Thomas Lloyd, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (TNA: FCO 141/14498).

The proposed introduction of a representative government in Singapore was criticised by the local elites. For example, R. Jumabhoy, Legislative Councillor and unofficial member of the Executive Council, asked how 'the Member System is working in the Federation. I do not know what happened to the promise made for introduction of the same system here… No concession or reform could be expected from them [the Conservative Party] unless forced by circumstances' (TNA: FCO 141/14498). Clearly, political reform in Singapore in the early 1950s was implemented primarily to meet administrative needs and to facilitate decolonisation. Even more importantly, the above excerpt demonstrates the important role played by British government elites in shaping the political structure of Singapore, especially during the transitional period.

Singapore went through four main constitutional changes prior to independence in 1965, in which external actors played significant roles. In particular, the threat posed by Communist China and Communist insurgency groups from Malaya led the colonial ruling elites to use Singapore's coercive state capacity to contain Communism. The introduction of a member system was discussed in this light in the Singapore Political Report for October 1951, excerpted below.

> More fundamentally, only in this way can the democratic constitutional procedure be a living part of the life of the Colony, a part vital and healthy enough to resist the sneering infiltrations of Communism. (TNA: FCO 141/14498)

In a memorandum prepared in 1953, the secretary of the Council of Action to the Rendel Constitutional Commission made the following observations and recommendations.

> The power of Communism is a real one and we must not minimise the attractions it has for the embittered, the desperate, and the dispossessed… The best defence against Communism is an immediate and direct stake in democracy. (TNA: CO 1022/92)

In the same document, the council secretary suggested that the '[l]egislature itself must be fully elected. We are of the opinion that nominated seats and special representation for sectional interests are antiquated and repugnant to the ideals of democracy' (TNA: CO 1022/92). It is worth noting that the British government elites did not wholeheartedly promote democracy. Although unsurprising, it is somewhat ironic – given the British rhetoric opposing free societies to Communism – that in the above internal government document, emphasis was placed on merely a 'democratic way of life' (TNA: CO 1030/82), rather than the development of a genuine democratic society with free and fair elections and protected civil liberties. The election was perceived as an anti-Communist tool, in line with the goal of the British ruling elites during the transitional period to design a political structure headed by local anti-Communist elites.

International Actors

In this section, the process by which China and Malaysia became major external actors in Singapore's transition is elaborated. The influence of China was due mainly to the absence of a national identity as perceived by citizens of Singapore. Before Singapore became part of the British Crown colony of the Straits Settlements, the island had only a sparse indigenous population. After Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles made Singapore the region's trading hub in the early 19th century, traders from Europe and nearby countries, such as China, India and Malaya, began to settle on the island, forming the city-state's major founding population (see Chua 2012; Huang and Hong 2007; Lam and Yeoh 2004; Lee 2000: 573-594). As a result, most Singaporean families today have roots in neighbouring countries; for example, most members of the Chinese population of Singapore have a significant number of relatives residing in mainland China. The term 'birds of passage' was used to describe these citizens by M. P. D. Nair, an unofficial member of the Legislative Council, in a meeting held on 16th June 1953 to discuss a motion for the amendment of Section 6(3) of the Municipal Ordinance (TNA: CO 1022/385). This nostalgic form of nationalism was reflected in the secret monthly emergency and political report for 15 November to 15 December 1954: '[t]he Chinese Chamber of Commerce has launched a strong but belated campaign for the abolition of the English language qualification for candidates for the Assembly. This manifestation of Chinese nationalism is receiving strong support from both the Kuomintang and the left section of the Chinese' (TNA: DO 35/6288). The Chinese origins and familial connections of many Singaporeans were a problem for the British government, which was concerned about the general failure of Chinese residents to seek naturalisation, unlike citizens of the United Kingdom and its colonies (TNA: DO 35/6289). Members of the Chinese ethnic group in Singapore maintained close connections with mainland China, and thus had the potential to be manipulated by Chinese Communists.

Two strategies were adopted by the ruling elites to solve the problem of China's potential role in diffusing Communism and anti-colonial sentiment. First, democracy was promoted in the 1950s to contain the influence of Chinese

Communism in Singapore. This strategy was described in a document entitled *Constitutional Development*, as follows.

> [P]olitical advance is required not only as a part of progress toward eventual self-government but also to satisfy public demands for democratic as opposed to Communist methods. (TNA: FCO 141/14499)

Second, to solve the problem of a lack of perceived national identity, the British ruling elites deliberately fostered nationalism among the Singaporeans. Sai (2013: 50) argued that the British colonial administrator artificially developed a form of 'colonial nationalism' during decolonisation. This artificially created national identity was beneficial to the rulers. According to Liu and Wong (2004: 93), the increased degree of political participation among the Singaporean Chinese was mainly due to the Communist victory in China in 1949. The British colonial government attempted to 'Malayanise the Chinese' to disrupt the relationship between mainland China and the Chinese population of Singapore. The resulting absence of a perceived national identity led local elites in Singapore to prioritise their own interests over 'national' interests, which explains their competition for various political and economic resources during the transitional period.

The Federation of Malaya and later Malaysia also had an important external influence on the political regime in Singapore. In the 1950s and 1960s, the British government elites were eager to maintain cooperation between the Federation of Malaya and Singapore, as indicated in the following excerpt from a government report.

> [T]he policy of her Majesty's Government is to favour a closer association or union between the two territories [the Federation of Malaya and Singapore]… In their institutions of government Singapore and the Federation have since 1946 gone their separate ways, but their economic welfare and social and cultural interest are so closely allied that co-ordination of policy is of importance to both. (TNA: DO 35/6289)

Nevertheless, the relationship between Singapore and Malaysia was complicated. The Federation of Malaya and Singapore were administratively separate under British rule in the 19th century. The Malay peninsula was divided into three political groups: the Straits Settlements (Crown colony), the Federated States and the Unfederated States (the latter two were under British protection) (TNA: DO 35/6289). The Federation of

Malaya was in the Federated States, whereas Singapore was part of the Crown colony. Therefore, as observed by Quah (2015): 'Malays were the indigenous people of Malaya and the Chinese were perceived as outsiders' (p. 104).

Indeed, internal government documents suggested that ethnic conflict not only prevented cooperation between the Federation of Malaya and Singapore but exacerbated their competition. For example, in the political arena, the ruling elites of Singapore and the Federation of Malaya remained at a distance, avoiding cooperation. In an internal government document dated 28 April 1953, J. J. Paskin of the Colonial Office noted that '[t]o my mind it is quite shocking that neither Singapore nor the Federation have kept each other informed of proposals which would involve the setting up of Constitutional Commissions or Committees in the two territories' (TNA: CO 1022/92). Surprisingly, the major political party in the Federation of Malaya, the United Malays National Organisation, was not intended to establish a party branch and run the election in Singapore, according to a secret monthly emergency and political report covering the period from 15 November to 15 December 1954 (TNA: DO 35/6288).

Local Elites

In response to changes in state capacity and the international situation, local elites competed with each other to safeguard their own interests. Internally, the political reforms of the early 1950s provided an opportunity for political transition by allowing political parties to compete in elections. This incited local elite groups to compete for scarce resources, i.e. political power. This intense competition led to the fragmentation of Singapore's elite groups, ultimately hindering the development of a genuinely democratic form of government during the transitional period.

There was intense competition between ethnic-group leaders. The populations of both the Federation of Malaya and Singapore, as multi-ethnic societies, consisted of Malays, Chinese, Indians and Europeans or Eurasians. However, ethnic composition

differed considerably between the two populations. Malays constituted a majority in the Federation of Malaya, whereas the Chinese were the dominant ethnic group in Singapore (see Lee 1998: 14). During the transitional period, the Malays and the Chinese competed for both political and economic resources. The British authorities were aware of the fault-lines between ethnic groups in Malaya. In a telegram (No. 276) sent to the Colonial Office on 25 February 1952, Gerald Templer, High Commissioner of the Federation of Malaya, made the following statement.

> The first Malacca Municipal elections were somewhat disappointing… The discouraging feature of the results of the Kuala Lumpur election was the clear indication that, although the composition of all three parties was inter-racial, voting followed strictly on racial community lines, the predominantly Chinese Wards returning Chinese only, the predominantly Malay Wards returning Malays only and the predominantly Indian Wards returning Indians only. (TNA: FCO 141/14429)

Chinese community leaders expressed concerns about the political reforms initiated in the Federation of Malaya, as indicated in a letter written by H. S. Lee, President of the Selangor Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Chairman of the Associated Chinese Chambers of Commerce of Malaya, to Jim Griffiths, Secretary of State for Colonies, on 16 January 1951. Lee reported that '[w]hen the constitution of the Federation of Malaya was announced there was a strong section of the Chinese community who felt that the constitution was so unfair and so unjust to the Chinese that they advocated non-participation in the Federal Legislative Council' (TNA: FCO 141/14429). Prior to this letter, a statement issued by the Colonial Secretary's House, Singapore on 11 September 1950 indicated that '[t]he rejection of Western control by Asian peoples under the leadership of their Western-educated political intelligentsia… started before the War and is now a commonplace… with British withdrawal, the struggle would be between Chinese and Malays for control' (TNA: FCO 141/14429). Ethnic competition for political resources took place not only in the Federation of Malaya, but also in Singapore.

The introduction of direct elections in the Legislative Assembly in the 1950s deepened the division of factional interests along ethnic and occupational lines. Workers competed with elites from various ethnic communities, such as the Chinese,

Malay and Indian populations, and occupational communities, such as business and professional groups, to maximise their own influence in the Singapore government.

Political power in Singapore shifted from Indian to Chinese citizens after 1950 due to the growing Chinese adult population and the increasing political consciousness of the Chinese community. This shift was clearly depicted by W. L. Blythe, Colonial Secretary of Singapore, on 26 September 1950.

> Although the Indian influence is at present predominant in politics in Singapore, I think that it is quite possible that the Chinese may, before very long, play a much bigger part than they have done up till now… we wish to avoid communalism in Singapore politics, it is a fact that almost 78% of the population of Singapore is Chinese, and that a spread of political consciousness is required. Of this large population, 60% is local born, and although a large proportion (say 60%) of non-adults is included in this percentage, it will not be long before the majority of our adult population is local born and entitled to vote. (TNA: FCO 141/14429)

Indeed, the composition of ethnic groups in Singapore was relatively stable between the 1950s and 2015 (see Table 5.1). Official statistics provided by the Singapore government show that the Chinese have remained the dominant social group, representing approximately 75% of the total population, while Malays represent approximately 13% and Indians less than 10% (Singapore Department of Statistics 2015). However, as most members of the Chinese population in the early 1950s were non-adult and ineligible to vote or stand for election, the Indian population accessed a greater share of political resources.

Table 5.1 Singapore Residents by Ethnic Group, 1960 to 2015

Year (Total Residents)	Chinese	Malays	Indians	Other
1960 (1,646,400)	76.0%	14.1%	8.1%	1.8%
1965 (1,886,900)	76.3%	14.7%	7.4%	1.6%
1970 (2,013,563)	77.0%	14.8%	7.0%	1.2%
1975 (2,268,600)	76.6%	14.8%	6.6%	2.0%
1980 (2,282,125)	78.3%	14.4%	6.3%	1.0%
1985 (2,482,615)	78.0%	14.2%	6.7%	1.0%
1990 (2,735,868)	77.8%	14.0%	7.1%	1.1%
1995 (3,013,515)	77.4%	14.0%	7.3%	1.3%
2000 (3,273,363)	76.8%	13.9%	7.9%	1.4%
2005 (3,467,814)	75.7%	13.9%	8.4%	2.0%
2010 (3,771,721)	74.1%	13.4%	9.2%	3.3%
2015 (3,902,690)	74.3%	13.3%	9.1%	3.3%

Source: Singapore Department of Statistics (2015)

Competition was intensified between Chinese and Indian leaders, especially in debate on the right to vote. This severely injured the political status of Indians residing in Singapore. In response, British officials attempted to balance the power of the Chinese and Indian populations, as indicated in the following excerpt from an internal Colonial Office letter from J. D. Higham to Thomas Lloyd, dated 8 October 1952.

> The more I look at this the less I like the idea of increasing the residence qualification from three to seven years, and I think it would be no bad thing if Mr. C. C. Tan and his Progressive Party were made to see that they cannot rely for ever on legislation to protect the local born against the highly politically conscious Indian immigrants. (TNA: CO 1022/385)

Lloyd replied on 8 May 1953 with the following suggestion.

> It will, of course, be obvious that any legislation of this kind is a deliberate deterrent to Indian participation in local politics. I asked Sir John how representative bodies of Indian opinion in Singapore would view it; he says that the Indian Chamber of Commerce would favour restrictive legislation but that it would be strongly opposed by Indian political groups – mostly in the local Labour Party. The Government of India could, of course, be expected to protest. (TNA: CO 1022/385).

In the final verdict, the Singapore 1955 Constitution clarified that a voter must be 1) at least 21 years old, 2) a British subject or 3) born in the Federation of Malaya, Sarawak, North Borneo or Brunei; and in all cases an ordinary resident of the colony for the 3 years immediately preceding an election (TNA: CO 1030/79). This arrangement significantly shifted political power from Indians to Chinese in elections during the transitional period.

Due to an absence of perceived national identity, as discussed in the previous section, the political elites in Singapore tended to compete with each other in pursuit of their own interests, rather than prioritising state interests. This was repeatedly evident in discussion of the introduction of a member system to the Singapore government in the early 1950s, as indicated in the following excerpt from a letter dated 5 April 1952 from W. L. Blythe to J. D. Higham of the Colonial Office.

> [O]ur original intention [was] that two Unofficials should become Members, but then this was discussed with Tan Chin Tuan,[21] C. C. Tan[22] and Thio Chan Bee, they quite frankly said they did not want this at present. C. C. Tan and Tan Chin Tuan said that they were professional and business men and [had] their clients to consider and that they could not, without a year or so of preparation, arrange their business affairs so that they could take on the responsibilities of Members… Thio Chan Bee is not in quite the same position as the other two for he, as you know, is a schoolmaster, but he accepted their argument. (TNA: FCO 141/14498)

In their political appointments, the elites of Singapore simply prioritised their private interests.

[21] Tan Chin Tuan was the managing director of the Overseas-Chinese Banking Corporation (OCBC), one of the leading banks in Southeast Asia.
[22] Tan Chye Cheng was a prominent Chinese lawyer.

Indigenous rulers comprised another major stakeholder group in Singapore. For historical reasons, the British authorities were responsible for upholding the interests of local indigenous rulers in the Federation of Malaya and the Strait Settlements. In 1819, Thomas Stamford Raffles and other British officials signed various treaties and conventions with Tengku Long, Sultan of Johor, and other Malay rulers, which not only protected Britain's economic and political interests in the region, but recognised the special interests of the local Malay rulers. For detailed information on the agreements reached with the indigenous rulers in the early 19th century, please refers to the following historical analyses (see Abshire 2011: 39-41, 45; Chew 1991: 36-39; Dobbs 2003: 5-7; Turnbull 1989: 35).

During the political reforms, Singapore's rulers were eager to maintain their privileges and social status. A secret document sent by Gerald Templer, High Commissioner for the Federation of Malaya, to Oliver Lyttelton, Secretary of State for the Colonies, on 5 March 1953, highlighted the concerns expressed by the indigenous rulers, i.e. the Sultan, about the introduction of elections and democracy (TNA: FCO 141/14508).[23] Interestingly, Templer also reported in the letter that '[t]hough I failed to see the logic of some of these arguments, I did my best to answer them and, at the same time, to assuage to some extent the anxiety as to their own position which must be bulking large in the minds of the Rulers at the moment' (TNA: FCO 141/14508). It is clear that local rulers' interests and concerns had to be accommodated by the British ruling elites, although the latter did not view the rulers' arguments as logical and reasonable. Unsurprisingly, therefore, Singapore's political reforms tended to uphold local rulers' interests by hindering the development of a more democratic form of government.

[23] 'There was a division among the Rulers on the question whether there should be a minority or majority of elected members in the new Council… [The rulers] said that the mass of the people were completely ignorant of the principles of democracy and, when elections were introduced they would be extremely susceptible to the few vocal elements who were clamouring for elections. These elements, they added, were seeking to gain power and riches by winning over an electorate suitability of the candidates presented to it. They contended that there were, therefore, obvious dangers in having elections at a time when the electorate was politically immature… They considered that the successful attainment of a fully self-governing constitution on the pattern of democracy was too precious to justify proceeding at a pace which might well endanger the whole process, and they preferred to move cautiously stage by stage from one successful measure to another to achieve the purpose in view' (TNA: FCO 141/14508).

5.2 Transitional Process

The introduction of the Rendel Constitution in 1955, during the decolonisation process, intensified the competition between elites in Singapore. This conflict was also deepened by the international situation, especially the pressures of decolonisation, anti-colonial sentiment and the perceived threat of Communist infiltration from China and the Federation of Malaya. Local elites fragmented further along ethnic, occupational and ideological lines. The colonial leaders were forced to seek reliable anti-Communist rulers for Singapore's post-transitional society from a group of unreliable, self-interested local elites. Lee Kuan Yew and the PAP managed to refashion the party as an anti-Communist rather than radical pro-Communist group. This gained Lee Kuan Yew the confidence of the colonial ruling elites, and enabled him to become the leader of Singapore.

State Capacity

A watershed in the elites' competition occurred in 1955, when the recommendations made in a 1954 report by the Rendel Commission introduced drastic changes to Singapore's political structure. The Governor of Singapore appointed the members of the Rendel Commission (TNA: CO 1022/92) on 2 August 1953.[24] A report by the Rendel Commission published in February 1955 changed the composition of the Singapore Legislative Council in April 1955, significantly increasing the number of elected members and reducing the importance of ex-officio and nominated officials (see Table 5.2). This provided favourable conditions for the emergence of democracy in

[24] Tan Chin Tuan, managing director of the OCBC; Lim Yew Hock, trade-union activist and former leader of the Labour Party of Singapore; Nazir Ahmed Mallal, advocate and solicitor of the colony of Singapore and the Federation of Malaya; Ahmad bin Mohammed Ibrahim, advocate and solicitor, Singapore; Tan Chye Cheng, advocate and solicitor of the Supreme Court, Singapore; and Cecil Francis Smith, managing director of Sime Darby & Co., Ltd.

Singapore. However, as discussed in the previous section, the ruling elites' primary goal in promoting democratic governance was to counteract the influence of Communism.

The introduction of the Rendel Constitution and Legislative Council elections in 1955 led to additional significant changes to Singapore's political structure, which further intensified the conflict of interests between domestic elites. The state structure was no longer dominated by the colonial ruling elites. Most of the members of the legislature were elected by the public. Subsequently, the traditionally appointed pro-British business elites were no longer able to protect their interests through over-representation in the Singapore government. In an intelligence report (No. 102, 5 May 1954) prepared by the Foreign Office on constitutional development in the colony of Singapore, it was reported that the seats reserved for the Chamber of Commerce had to be 'represented through the normal political channels' (TNA: CO 1030/80). As a result, some traditional business leaders, such as Tan Chin Tuan and Tan Chye Cheng, were no longer active on the Singapore political scene.

Table 5.2 Composition of Legislative Council in 1951 and 1955

	Composition of Legislative Council in 1951	**Composition of Legislative Council in 1955**
President/speaker	1 president (the Governor)	1 speaker (appointed by the Governor)
Ex-officio members	4	3
Nominated officials	5	4
Elected members	9	25

Source: Extracted from *Summary – Constitutional Progress in the Federation of Malaya and in Singapore*, p. 11 (TNA: DO 35/6289).

From the British perspective, the newly elected members were still elites and professionals representing different segments of society. According to Liu and Wong (2004: 99, Table 3.1), there were 79 candidates in the 1955 elections, of whom 45 and 20 were from the business and professional sectors, respectively. In a top-secret

document addressed to Lennox-Boyd, Colonial Secretary, on 25 July 1955, Goode discussed several questions related to the election and performance of the incumbent elected government before meeting with the Secretary of State about the Constitution. On 28 July 1955, Chief Secretary analysed the affiliation of elected members within the legislature (TNA: CO 1030/79).[25]

The British colonial ruling elites further evaluated the consequences of the 1955 election. A major issue was highlighted in the government document excerpted below: the increasing number of elected representatives with worker and socialist backgrounds. The following predictions were made in the same document.

> An increase in the total number voting would [give] even greater strength to the extreme Left… Their second interest is in Chinese nationalism. The P.A.P. and to some extent the Labour Front Parties offer them what they want and the dangers and economic consequences are not put to them nor are they likely to be much heeded if they were. (TNA: CO 1030/79)

In Singapore's 1955 election, the Democratic Party, representing the interests of the Chinese business and traditional professional sectors, was defeated by the Labour Front, a pro-labour political party (Liu and Wong 2004: 99). The newly emerged professional elites, who were mainly middle class and English-educated (Andrew and Tan 2003: 6; Yap et al. 2010), and represented the interests of workers, gained the attention of the British ruling elites.

The Rendel Constitution further accelerated competition between racial and interest groups, leading to a drastic redistribution of political power and social fragmentation. Due to conflicts of interest among elites, Singapore's constitution underwent two major revisions in 1955 and 1958, followed by another two major revisions in 1963 and 1965 that saw Singapore merge with and separate from the

[25] 'The Assembly is no longer controlled by European officials and nominated representatives of British commercial interests. It is popularly elected and has a Left Wing Socialist majority, but it contains a number of persons who represent and are themselves persons of reasonable substance in the Colony. The four Progressive members are drawn from the business and professional class, and the Party had the support of the European commercial and banking community. The two Democrats represent the very substantial commercial interests of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. One of the Independents is the leader of the Indian Chamber of Commerce. Two of the opposition Nominated Members represent European and Chinese banking and business… On the Government side two are lawyers, one an European school master, and several persons with business interests' (TNA: CO 1030/79).

Federation of Malaya, respectively. These rapid changes in constitutional documentation and political power instigated many political and constitutional problems and exacerbated the competition for power between elites (see Tan 1989: 8-16). In response to the growing power of pro-worker political parties, British elites meticulously scrutinised the ideologies and political motives of the parties' leaders, such as Lee Kuan Yew. The British authorities had to ensure that the future leader of Singapore would embrace anti-Communism and protect British interests in the post-transitional period.

Evidence also suggests that the British government elites wanted to retain a significant political influence during transition and decolonisation. When the principle of representative government was introduced to Singapore in the early 1950s, various mechanisms were imposed to ensure that British incumbents could exercise power smoothly. In an internal Colonial Office letter to A. M. MacKintosh on 17 September 1954, Ian Watt reported that 'I suggested that it would be appropriate to include [a] provision restricting the right of the Legislative Assembly to proceed on Bills or Motions which would affect the Public Service' (TNA: CO 1030/85). Among the bills not to be assented to without instruction from the Secretary of State were 'any Bill establishing any banking association, or altering the constitution, powers, or privileges of any banking association', 'any Bill affecting the discipline or control of Our naval, military or air Forces' and 'any Bill containing provisions to which Our assent has once been refused, or which have been disallowed by us' (TNA: CO 1030/85). Clearly, the above restriction not only weakened state capacity but hindered Singapore's democratic development. Even more importantly, these mechanisms provided useful guidelines for future authoritarian leaders seeking to control political power through rules and regulations.

International Actors

Several major areas of competition between external and internal elites during the transitional process shaped political development in Singapore. First, nationalism was

promoted and manipulated by the colonial ruling elites to ease the tension created by global independence movements and anti-colonial sentiment fused with Chinese nationalism among local elites. Second, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya competed for economic and military resources. The perceived external threat from Malaysia enabled the government of post-colonial Singapore to justify impeding the introduction of democracy. Third, the ruling elites in Britain, Malaya and Singapore competed to protect their economic, defence and military interests. Last but not least, the perceived threat of a Communist infiltration of Singapore from China and the Federation of Malaya severely affected the decisions of the British ruling elites. Anti-Communism was the guiding force in the process of transition. The leader of PAP, Lee Kuan Yew, successfully refashioned his own and his party's image, rebranding the PAP as an anti-Communist party rather than a pro-Communist radical leftist party. Consequently, his party won the general election in 1959 and went on to hold political power in Singapore for half a century.

Nationalism and Anti-colonial Sentiment

The British colonial ruling elites were cautious in their promotion of nationalism in Singapore, wishing to ensure that nationalist sentiment did not breed anti-colonial attitudes. In a secret 'off the record' interview (report no. 0950) on Singapore's future constitution held in November 1956, Lim Yew Hock and Tengku Long 'both agreed that there was virtually no danger that Malay nationalism or religious prejudices would be over inflamed against the British, as "the British had never behaved here as the Dutch did in Indonesia towards the native peoples"' (TNA: FO 1091/44). However, the notion of nationalism was influenced by global decolonisation and independence movements. In a top-secret letter to Singapore's Commissioner of Police on 12 January 1957, R.W. Calderwood, Director of Singapore's Special Branch, attached a translation of a Malayan Communist Party (MCP) document entitled 'Freedom News', Issue No. 78

(October 1956), published by the Singapore Freedom Press. The author of the article described the anti-colonial sentiment of local elites (TNA: FCO 141/15063).[26]

British officials also sought to avoid promoting a form of nationalism that risked direct confrontation between Singaporean elites and the British government. In the early 1950s, several Chinese middle schools were suspected by the colonial authorities of having been infiltrated by underground Chinese Communists (see Quah 2015: 106). In response to the danger of nationalism fused with Communism, J. D. Hennings of the Colonial Office prepared a brief for the United Kingdom's delegation on 27 January 1959 in advance of a meeting between the United Kingdom, the United States and French officials in Washington to discuss the situation in Singapore. The following statement was made in the document.

> Nationalism and Communism are the two contending forces in South East Asia. It is United Kingdom policy to attempt to satisfy the nationalist forces by granting constitutional advance in the belief that this offers the best counter to Communism. (TNA: DO 35/9877)

In other words, the British ruling elites attempted to re-forge 'colonial nationalism' with the principal aim of instating a representative government to limit Singapore nationalism and thereby resist communism. The same document prepared by the Colonial Office provided the following clarification.

> [The] main threat to Singapore is one of Communist subversion, which has to date been contained by the elected Government… It might be thought that our colonial policy is contradictory with our defence interests, but this is not really so. What we are trying to do is to strike a balance between the political and military means of defending the free world against Communism and of building up a stable democratic bloc in S. E. Asia. (TNA: DO 35/9877)

This indicates a trade-off between measures taken to protect Singapore from Communism and measures taken to implement a stable democracy. As the colonial

[26] 'Lim Yew Hock thinks that, under support of the colonialists, he can continue to carry out this type of unreasonable and savage actions for a long time… If he is willing to open his eyes to look around and observe the world situation, to look at the violent upsurge of national struggles for independence in Asia and Africa, and at the miserable retreat and failures of the colonialists everywhere, it is not difficult for him to perceive that the life of colonialism is not as long as he imagine it to be' (TNA: FCO 141/15063).

powers focused on the former goal, the development of democracy in Singapore was stunted.

Anti-colonial sentiment also intensified the conflict between local and colonial ruling elites. The British ruling elites possessed overwhelming political power during the transitional period. The local elites attempted to increase their own political power by, for example, appointing ministers in the early stages of political reform and negotiating during the Singapore constitutional debate in the 1950s. The competing political interests of elites gave the PAP the opportunity to acquire political power, especially when this competition led to the resignation of the leader of the Labour Front. David Marshall resigned as Chief Minister in 1956, immediately after the unsuccessful constitutional talks in London with the British ruling elites.

In the early stages of Singapore's political transformation, the tension between Marshall, the governor, oppositional leaders and British ruling elites was intense. Internal document governments reveal vigorous competition between these elites to appoint ministers immediately after the 1955 election. In a telegram (No. 59) to the Secretary of State for Colonies on 10 July 1955, Sir Robert Black wrote that Lim Choon-Mong, leader of the Progressive Party, was strongly against the political appointment of four assistant ministers nominated by Marshall (see TNA: DO 35/6288). In addition, a fault-line emerged between the leader of the Labour Front and the British ruling elites, mainly due to Marshall's radical anti-colonial attitude. In a secret telegram (No. 63) to Lennox-Boyd on 12 July 1955, Robert Black reported that 'Marshall took extreme line that Labour Front was "fighting Colonial regime" and this was issue of confidence between him and me'. As a consequence, the colonial governor agreed to only two appointments (TNA: DO 35/6288).

The competition between Singapore's ruling elites and British government officials was also manifested in the negotiations on constitutional change in Singapore. On 1 January 1956, a secret brief was drafted for the Secretary of State of Singapore against Marshall's 'dominion status' proposal in paragraph 9 of CA(55)2, regarding the future of Singapore. The proposal referred to 'an escape clause providing for the resumption of control by H.M.G. if there were serious danger of the Communist

obtaining control… at the same time hand[ing] back to H.M.G. by treaty or agreement full control over external affairs and external defence' (TNA: DO 35/6289). Marshall's proposed clause would undoubtedly have sped up the process of self-government – but at Britain's expense, as full responsibility for defence and military expenditure was conferred on Britain in the event of a serious Communist threat. As Marshall's proposal was considered to diverge from the development trajectories of other former British colonies or Commonwealth countries, it was rejected.[27]

However, the major reason for British officials' rejection of Marshall's proposal lay in the shared anxiety of British ruling elites about the threat posed by Communism during the Cold War era (TNA: CO 1030/82). Communism was spreading all over the world, and infiltrating countries near Singapore, such as China, Korea and Vietnam. Even more importantly, local political parties such as the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and the PAP were perceived to be maintaining a close relationship with the Chinese Communist Party. At that time, the leaders of the MCA and the PAP were themselves very closely connected, and their parties had a similar political orientation (see Lee 1998: 181). As a result, British officials feared that expediting self-government in Singapore would simply transfer political power to a leader strongly affiliated with Communism, resulting in the loss of Singapore to the Communist bloc.

[27] The proposal was immediately rejected in London. In a speech delivered to the Legislative Assembly on 6 June 1956 (TNA: CO 1030/82), Marshall made the following comments on the rejection of his proposal.

'We the people of Singapore took this as a good augury of the possible success of our Merdeka Mission with its modest plan for limited freedom. It did not take us long in London to learn that with the Colonial Office the Washington Declaration was just a quixotic document useful only for external decoration… "Liberate Singapore? Don't be infantile; we need Singapore more than ever now. Freedom? We will give them the freedom to serve our interests". This, as we saw it, was the attitude of the Colonial Office, matured in the tradition of the exploitation of human beings… Whilst the Prime Minister seeks the welfare of Britain with humanity, the Colonial Office seeks the welfare of Britain at the expense of humanity… We went to London full of faith. Historically, we recognised the radical and humane difference between British approach and that of other European Imperial powers… the English people in transforming their Colonies into friends and allies. This process started many decades ago. I think it was in 1867 when Canada was given self-government… after the war the humanity and statesmanship of the British Government extended this principle to Asian colonies – India, Burma and Ceylon… Why is Singapore made an exception?'

Competition or Cooperation with Malaya?

The relationship between Singapore and Malaysia was complicated. In a secret paper addressed to Sir Berkeley Gage, British Ambassador to Thailand, and dated 17 August 1956, A. M. MacKintosh captured the British government's view of the relationship between the Federation of Malaya and Singapore.

> It remains the view of H.M.G. that the only fully satisfactory arrangement is some form of union which will make the Federation and Singapore a single country. This however, will become possible only on the joint initiative of both territories, and although relations have improved since in Singapore Mr. Lim succeeded Mr. Marshall as Chief Minister, the divergence is still great and there is at present no prospect of any such union for years to come. (TNA: CO 1030/83)

Disagreement between the Malayan and Singaporean leaders was also reported in a secret document prepared on 5 August 1955 by Malcolm MacDonald, Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia, as a note on a talk with Marshall (TNA: CO 1030/79).[28]

The hostile attitude of the ruling elites in the Federation of Malaya toward Singapore was partly due to a miscalculation by Tunku Abdul Rahman, Chief Minister of Malaya from 1955 to 1957 and Prime Minister of Malaysia from 1957 to 1970. Rahman noted that the 'Federation did not wish its pace of political advance to be slowed down by association with Singapore. The Tunku expressed the view that Her Majesty's Government would not give Singapore independence, because British defence interests there are so vital' (TNA: CO 1030/79). Despite the enormous policy gap and lack of cooperation between the leaders of Singapore and the Federation of Malaya, Singapore merged with Malaya for 2 years, beginning in 1963, due to military concerns. In an internal government document dated 15 March 1960 and addressed to Iain Macleod, Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Earl of Selkirk, United Kingdom Commissioner for Singapore and Southeast Asia, reported as follows.

[28] 'In the course of a talk with David Marshall yesterday morning, he expressed to me great concern at the attitude of Tunku Abdul Rahman to constitutional progress in Malaya and Singapore. He has discussed the question with the Tunku, and told me that Abdul Rahman wishes to progress much too fast. He hopes to achieve self-government for the Federation in all internal affairs in two years and complete independence in four years' time' (TNA: CO 1030/79).

> The P.A.P. Government are at present in a dilemma about merger with the Federation. They continue to proclaim this as their objective, but every time the Tengku [Tunku] slaps it down their position becomes more and more difficult… Lee Kuan Yew does not want this [independence], and indeed he is mortally afraid of it, since he has the sense to see that an independent Singapore, standing by itself, would rapidly be engulfed. (TNA: DO 35/9877)

In short, disagreement between and miscalculations by the leaders of Singapore and the Federation of Malaya, together with conflicting ethnic interests, led to the expulsion of Singapore from Malaysia in 1965 (see Crouch 1996: 14; Lee 1998: 474, 507-510, 615, 628-647).

British Interests and Competition with Other Actors

The government of the United Kingdom, as Singapore's colonial administrator, also had an enormous interest in the region (see TNA: FO 1091/44). In a secret document dated 24 August 1956 and prepared by the Far Eastern Department of the Colonial Office, a strategy for negotiating with the political leaders of Singapore on the city-state's constitutional development was proposed. Singapore was intended to 'preserve its character as a major international sea port and a centre of economic activity in which there is a large British investment', while being maintained 'as an effective military base for United Kingdom forces' in Southeast Asia (TNA: FO 1091/44).

Archival data suggest that in the early stages of Singapore's transition, various major external and internal actors competed to protect their own economic interests. In the 1950s, a proposal was made for protecting business and other sectoral interests (TNA: CO 1022/92). An emphasis on protecting British business interests was clear in the dialogue between senior British government officials. For instance, the importance of British commercial interests was highlighted in a secret telegram (No.

101) sent by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Robert Black, Governor of Singapore, on 17 August 1955 (TNA: DO 35/6289).[29]

Due to the threat of Communist infiltration and a series of leftist movements in Singapore during the 1950s, the British ruling elites were concerned about their defence and military interests during the transitional period. In particular, the government feared losing its military bases and air-control rights in the region when the Federation of Malaya and Singapore became independent states. This concern was raised in a top-secret telegram sent by the Commonwealth Relations Office to the High Commissioners to the United Kingdom in Australia, New Zealand, India and Pakistan on 30 November 1955, regarding future defence arrangements with the Federation of Malaya and Singapore.

> There is no doubt, that not only in the first stage of self-government but even after full independence has been achieved, it will be necessary for United Kingdom and, subject to the agreement of the Australian and New Zealand Governments, Commonwealth forces to remain in Malaya and for the Singapore base to be kept in being. (TNA: DO 35/6289)

In another secret document dated 27 November 1956, E. N. Larmour emphasised the need to protect Britain's external defence arrangements in Singapore, as follows.

> Our objective in Singapore is to retain full control over the bases etc. which we at present occupy and absolute freedom to use them for any purpose we may wish, both for the external defence of Singapore and for the fulfilment of our other Commonwealth and International obligations. (TNA: FO 1091/44)

The 'international obligations' referenced here denoted the United Kingdom's joint operation with the United States against Communism. These obligations were also recognised in a top-secret document produced by the Commissioner General for the Colonial Office (No. 38) on 18 April 1956: '[t]he value of the naval and air bases in Singapore will be slight if the Americans cannot use them in war' (TNA: FO 1091/41).

[29] 'The following points were made in Cabinet discussion of Secretary of State's memorandum: (a) Point should be made that if Malaya wants self-government it must make every effort to pay its own way. If U.K. assistance continued to be necessary every effort should be made to safeguard our commercial interests in view of the importance of the Federation within the sterling area' (TNA: DO 35/6289).

Diffusion of Communism from China and Malaya

The potential infiltration of Communism was another important external influence during the transitional period. There were two major actors in this process, namely Communist China and MCP leaders. These two sources of Communist threat placed tremendous pressure on Singapore's colonial ruling elites. This section first investigates the general fear of Communism among the British ruling elites, and then shows how these elites learned from various actors to evaluate the threat of Communism in the region. The next section illustrates the increasing influence of Communism and Communist-affiliated actors in Singapore, which led the British ruling elites to search for a reliable and anti-communist Singaporean leader during the transitional period.

Threat of Communist Infiltration

The British government elites were particularly afraid of the infiltration of Singapore by Communism due to the region's predominantly Chinese population. In a secret letter to A. M. MacKintosh on 5 November 1955, Robert Black reported on a discussion with Marshall about the Constitution of Singapore. Black and Marshall expressed the concern that due to the increased enfranchisement of Chinese citizens, the extreme left-wing PAP might take over the government and thereby increase the chance of Communist infiltration (TNA: CO 1030/80). The concerns of the British ruling elites were not ungrounded. Lee Kuan Yew (1998) recalled that during the early formation of the PAP, '[m]any of the MCP cadres had been lying low, or had been under cover' (p. 195).

The threat of Communism not only affected Singapore's political development, but hindered the merger between the Federation of Malaya and Singapore, as

illustrated in the following excerpt from the minutes of the ninth Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, held on 4 June 1956.

> The negotiations with Singapore would have been greatly eased if it had been possible to envisage an early link with the Federation of Malaya. This was historically justifiable, but the large Chinese population of Singapore and the extent of Communist infiltration there made the Government of the Federation reluctant to contemplate the inclusion of Singapore in the Federation at this time. (TNA: CO 1030/82)

In a letter dated 18 June 1958 to Sir Gilbert Laithwaite, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, G. W. Tory, High Commissioner to Malaya, also acknowledged the role of Communism in impeding the political union between the Federation of Malaya and Singapore.

> It is quite clear that so long as the present conservative government remains in power in Malaya the prospect of a political merger of the two territories will continue to be remote. The victory of the PAP in the municipal elections in Singapore and the antics of the PAP Mayor since in their determination to resist contamination from Singapore. (TNA: FCO 141/14914)

At that time, the PAP was accused of maintaining close links with the Chinese Communist Party, and the Communists affiliated with the PAP were actively involved in various strikes and anti-colonial government demonstrations. On 15 April 1959, after the PAP won the city-council election in Singapore, a group of British subjects born in Singapore wrote a letter to Queen Elizabeth II in which they accused PAP and its leaders, namely Lee Kuan Yew, Toh Chin Chye, Goh Keng Swee and Ong Eng Guan and Lim Chin Siong, of being 'sponsored by the Communist[s] of Red China and financed by them'. The authors of the letter further opined 'that this Party should be banned for ever and their leaders should be banished from the Colony of Singapore to Red China' (TNA: CO 1030/448).

External Influence of Communism in Singapore

The British ruling elites were suspicious about the political orientation of the PAP from its formation in 1954. Its leaders were responsible for organising various general

strikes against Marshall and the colonial government. A confidential telegram (No. 108) sent from the Commonwealth Relations Office to the High Commissioners on 24 June 1955 highlighted the tense political situation in Singapore. 'It is clear that the calling of this general strike was a further attempt by the leaders of the People's Action Party to test the strength and resolution of the Labour Front Government' (TNA: DO 35/6288). Immediately after the election in 1955, the PAP was categorised as a left-wing radical party with close connections with Communist activists. In an internal government document, the PAP was described as 'an extreme left wing group with strong Communist affiliations' (TNA: DO 35/6288).

The British ruling elites were extremely concerned about the infiltration of the region by Communism, as indicated in the following excerpt from a secret paper entitled *Counter-subversion in the Federation of Malaya and Singapore*, dated 17 August 1956.

> In order to counter the Communist threat to the Federation of Malaya and Singapore the United Kingdom has spent very considerable resources during the last eight years in the prosecution of the Emergency and is prepared to continue to make forces available until Communist terrorism has been completely defeated. With the switch of Communist tactics away from armed rebellion to an United Front policy, the danger of long-term subversion has grown and is already a serious menace in Singapore. The United Kingdom's primary answer to this has been constitutional change in both territories, with the result that the Communists have been unable to capture the genuine and healthy national movement for independence. (TNA: CO 1030/83).

The British ruling elites believed that the main targets of Communist infiltration were Chinese schools and industries in Singapore. In a secret letter to J. B. Johnston, Head of the Far Eastern Department of the Colonial Office, on 26 July 1956, Robert Black reported on 'the dangerous subversive activities of the Students' Union' as follows. 'The strike in the private Chinese Primary School, to which I referred, has high-lighted opposition to the Government's new educational policy, and has given me the opportunity to develop the theme of action against the Students' Union and subversive elements in schools [i.e. Communism]' (TNA: CO 1030/83). The PAP was actively involved in these strikes, furthering the British suspicion that the party was associated with Communism. The involvement of PAP in various demonstrations and

strikes was described in detail in internal government documents (see, e.g., TNA: DO 35/6288).[30]

Additional evidence was obtained of a connection between the PAP and Communism. In a telegram sent to Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, on 30 April 1955, Sir J. Nicoll, Governor of Singapore, reported that before the elections, the PAP made 'an attempt to control the Trade Unions and foment labour unrest in order to embarrass the new Government' (TNA: DO 35/6288). Due to the popularity of the PAP and its leaders among workers and students, the British ruling elites were particularly concerned about its real political intentions. In numerous internal documents, government officials attempted to assess the political orientation of the PAP and its leaders. An example is provided in the following excerpt from a government report.

> The People's Action Party, which forms the extreme Left Wing of the opposition,… formed shortly before the elections, [have] achieved an unexpected degree of success. Many of the speeches made by candidates and supporters of this party during the election campaign were inflammatory in tone, and in one or two cases might have been considered to border on sedition. Its official leader, Lee Kuan Yew, recently stated in an interview with the Singapore correspondent of a Sydney newspaper that if he had to choose between Communism and Colonialism, he would choose Communism. (TNA: DO 35/6288)

After a series of political campaigns in Chinese schools and labour unions, the PAP was perceived by the ruling elites as a highly Communist-associated political party. This was reflected in a secret monthly emergency and political report in 1954, which is excerpted below.

> The People's Action Party has been formed by an extreme left-wing socialist group which has found itself, after many months of discussions, unable to come to any compromise with various organisations

[30] 'The People's Action Party chose as the immediate arena for a trial of strength an industrial dispute between the management and employees of the Hock Lee Amalgamated Bus Company. This dispute had been going on for some time and the strikers were incited by students and other agitators to use violence to prevent the Company's buses being operated… The campaign continues until by the afternoon of the 12th May a crowd of about 1,000 students and strikers were repeatedly attacking with stones and bottles the police who were trying to keep the road clear near the bus depot. The situation deteriorated during the night and culminated in riots during which four men were killed. The situation was brought under control in the early hours of the 13th May by the firmness and self-restraint of the police' (TNA: DO 35/6288).

> representing labour. The prime movers are a small group of dissident English-educated intelligentsia… The People's Action Party is a perfect front organization for Communist manipulation. (TNA: DO 35/6288)

The leader of the PAP, Lee Kuan Yew, was concerned about how the British ruling elites perceived his own and his party's political orientation, and was thus careful to avoid links with Communism, as reflected in an incident recalled in Lee's memoirs. On recruiting Jamit Singh Sikh, Lee double-checked his background through various channels to ensure that the new recruit was not a secret member of the Anti-British League, i.e. a Marxist or a Communist (Lee 1998: 195). As the leader of the PAP and a Cambridge-trained professional lawyer, Lee was fully aware that if the PAP was labelled as a branch of the Communist Party or a supporter of Communism, the survival of the party would be compromised and Lee's own political career would end. Therefore, Lee sought to re-imagine himself and his party as anti-Communist in orientation to ensure that the PAP was not suppressed by the British authority.

Local Elites

Internal actors also played important roles during the transitional period. While indigenous rulers continued to enjoy political privileges and a high social status, the interests of other domestic actors were fragmented along both ethnic and occupational lines. Conflict between actors seeking political power was particularly severe immediately after the introduction of direct elections in 1955. This conflict between elites impeded the promotion and maintenance of already fragile and immature electoral procedures in Singapore.

Indigenous Rulers

The High Commissioner collaborated with the indigenous rulers and taught them how to monopolise power despite the introduction of elections and democracy. In a secret memorandum entitled *Introduction of Elections to the Federal Legislative Council* and dated 27 March 1954, the High Commissioner Gerald Templer reported on his dialogue with the rulers and explained that under the reformed system, the ruling elites would still enjoy political power (TNA: FCO 141/14508).[31] Together with other British colonial administrators, the High Commissioner acknowledged the status of local rulers and worked to protect their interests in the transitional period. In a confidential report dated 10 January 1956 and entitled S*elf-government for the Federation of Malaya and Singapore*, prepared by the Far East and Pacific Group, a sub-section on Malaya clarified the relationship between the colonial elites and the Malay rulers.

> We cannot adopt any policy which looks like betraying the Rulers. Our whole juridical position is based on the Treaties between them and the Crown, and it should be realised that at present constitutional changes can only be properly affected with the agreement of the Rulers freely given. Their consent to further constitutional changes must be obtained without pressure being exerted upon them by Her Majesty's Government. (TNA: CO 1030/101)

Consequently, a new constitution for Malaya was promulgated in April 1957 and came into force in June 1959. The power and status of the rulers was guaranteed by the creation of a new figurehead position, Yang di-Pertuan Agong or head of state of Malaysia, 'who [was] elected for a term of five years from the leaders of the eleven states' (TNA: DO 35/9877). This position remained largely in place after Singapore's

[31] 'You have mentioned the danger that many may regard the acquisition of power merely as a road to the acquisition of riches and that whilst there is in certain vocal quarters a desire and demand for power… Let us consider the position, first as it would be if there were 45 elected members in a Council of 92, and secondly as it would be if there were 55 elected members in a Council of 102, remembering in both cases the likelihood of any one party or group of parties winning more than, say, 80% of the elected seats at the most in remote. With 45 elected members, the number in the largest group could not therefore reasonably be expected to be greater than 36, in which case, the votes of which the Government could be certain… the Government would be dependent, to carry its measures on support from among the State and Settlement members and the nominated members representing the scheduled interests who will therefore be in a position to exercise considerate influence' (TNA: FCO 141/14508).

independence in 1965; in Singapore, the equivalent ceremonial title was 'President of Singapore' (see Thio 2007).

Fragmentation of Elite Interests based on Ethnicity

The relationships between the major ethnic groups were extremely tense during the transitional period. The tension between Chinese and Malays was due not only to Singapore's majority Chinese population, but to a discrepancy in the groups' socio-economic status. According to a government document, statistical data gathered in Singapore indicated that 'the Chinese have tended to concentrate in the commercial and industrial areas, while the Malaysians have remained primarily an agricultural people' (TNA: DO 35/6289). For further discussion of the discrepancies between Chinese and Malays in Singapore, please see Barr and Jevon (2005), Poon (2009), Rogers (1971), Shamsul (1999), Stimp (1997) and Tan (2003).

The competition between the Chinese and the Malays significantly affected policy making. In a document sent to Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, on 16 February 1957, Robert Scott, Commissioner General in Southeast Asia, highlighted that 'there is the possibility of communal tension and perhaps disturbances in the Federation. The cost to the Tunku to keeping the peace between Chinese and Malays may well include losing the support of many of his Malay followers' (TNA: FCO 141/15063). In another secret document sent to Lennox-Boyd, dated 18 December 1956, Scott made the following observations.

> In the long run the struggle for political power in Singapore is not between the local inhabitants and the British but between two group of Chinese, on the one hand those with roots in Singapore and Malaya over several generations and on the other hand the relative newcomers who with the powerful support of many of the Chinese youth want to retain and foster their links with China, not because of Communism but because it is their homeland. (TNA: FO 1091/44)

Intriguingly, in a confidential letter to Robert Scott, Commissioner-General for the United Kingdom in Southeast Asia, on 8 April 1958, W. A. C. Goode, the last Governor

of Singapore, even argued that '[t]he battle for South East Asia will be fought not by troops and conventional weapons… but is being fought now by ideas, subversion, economic weapons and *racial politics*' [emphasis added] (TNA: FCO 141/14914).

This conflict of interests was not restricted to the Chinese and the Malays; it also involved elites from other ethnic groups. For example, after the introduction of the Singapore Constitution in 1955, ethnic communities were still keen to secure their rights by petitioning British authorities. On 4 March 1957, racial organisations in Singapore, such as the Eurasian Association, the Malay Union, the British European Association and the Malay-Indian Congress, urged the Governor of Singapore to fulfil their demand for 'community representation' in the Legislative Assembly. They argued that the proposed council 'might well provide the best means of bringing the various races together in harmony, and, if they had seats in the Assembly, their standing would be more assured' (TNA: CO 1030/448). The proposal to reserve Assembly seats for minority communities was rejected by the British government, as clearly stated in a confidential letter to W. A. C. Goode on 2 June 1958, Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies. 'I should be glad, if you see no objection, if you would cause the Secretary-General of the Singapore Indian Congress to be informed that I have noted the representations contained in his letters of the 17th April and 12th May, but that I am unable to support his request for the creation of reserved seats in the Singapore Legislative Assembly for representatives of the minority communities in Singapore' (TNA: CO 1030/448).

In short, the above illustration was merely the tip of the iceberg of ethnic tension in the region. The literature in this field provides a vibrant discussion of British officials' use of divide and rule policies to manipulate ethnic tension and thereby shape the process of decolonisation (see Christopher 1988; Blanton et al. 2001; Furedi 1990; Lange et al. 2006; Pollis 1973). Competition within Singapore was not restricted to the Chinese and Malay ethnic groups; in addition, this period saw conflict for political, economic and military resources between the indigenous rulers (notably the Sultan), the British ruling elites and local elite groups divided by community and occupation.

Fragmentation of Elite Interests based on Occupation and Ideology

Although the Rendel Commission introduced genuine elections to Singapore, the political context at this time was fragmented, and few parties were ready to articulate their political goals to the electorate. Most of the major political parties had been formed just a few months before the election; for example, the Labour Front was founded in August 1954 and the PAP in November 1954. The problem of political immaturity was highlighted by the British ruling elites in discussion of the difficulties of introducing a member system to Singapore's governance. A secret internal document of 1951 (No. 00189/51), entitled *Scheme for 'Member' System in the Colony*, revealed that '[i]t was the general opinion that the Member system (with Unofficials as Members) would not be workable until the stage had been reached when all members of Legislative Council were democratically elected and political parties were more strongly developed' (TNA: FCO 141/14498). Without well-established political parties to articulate societal interests, the election campaign was oriented towards narrowly defined personal or sectoral interests. The result of the election surprised not only the British colonial elites but the leaders of the major political parties, as indicated in another internal government report: '[t]he result of the elections was *unexpected* as it had been considered that the right wing parties [e.g. the Progressive Party] would probably be returned to power' [emphasis added] (TNA: DO 35/6288). Details on the election result can be found in Table 5.3. The Labour Front won 10 of the 25 available elected seats. David Marshall,[32] the leader of the Labour Front, was appointed by the Governor of Singapore as Chief Minister (April 1955 to June 1956). He was the major stakeholder involved in negotiating with the British government on constitutional change and self-rule. However, the Labour Front party members held few ideals in common, and had a relatively loose coalition, as confirmed in a letter written by the Governor of Singapore on 6 April 1955, following a conversation with Marshall (TNA: DO 35/6288). As illustrated by Yeo (1973: 114), the coalition between

[32] Marshall was 46 in 1955. Of Baghdadi Jewish origin, he was born and educated in Singapore and received a call to the English bar in 1937 (TNA: DO 35/6288).

the Singapore Labour Party and the Singapore Socialist Party was undertaken merely to secure public office in the 1955 election.

Table 5.3 Results of Election on 2 April 1955, Singapore

Political Party	**Elected Members**
Labour Front	10
Progressive Party	4
Democratic Party	2
PAP	3
Alliance	3
Independent parties	3

Source: Extract from *Colonial Political Intelligence Summary* No. 4 – April, 1955 (TNA: DO 35/6288).

Competition in Singapore occurred not only between ethnic communities, but between groups divided by occupation, with a particularly deep rift between the business/professional sectors and workers. Before the 1955 election, the political structure of Singapore was dominated by business and professional elites, as noted by Liu and Wong (2004) below.

> One major characteristic of Chinese communal leadership in Singapore was that the merchants served as the leaders of the whole Chinese community… As successful businessmen occupied the top hierarchy of Chinese society, their key institution, the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce (SCCC), became the sole organization capable of leading the (traditional) Chinese community, particularly during the first decade after the end of the war. (pp. 49-51)

The conflict between community leaders was captured in debate within the legislature. In a motion created by Lim Yew Hock in a Legislative Council Review of the Constitution of the Colony on 19 May 1953, Lim highlighted problems with the Singapore Legislative Council Election Ordination of 1947: '[t]he number of persons which any specified Association of Body or any combination of such specified Associations or Bodies may elect from among its or their members as a Member or Members of the Legislative Council' (TNA: CO 1022/92). Lim was unhappy with the over-representation of business and professional citizens in the Legislative Council. He pointed out that

‘[t]he workers in this Colony have at various times demanded… equal representation with the Chambers of Commerce on the grounds of fairness and equity’ (TNA: CO 1022/92). Tan Chin Tuan replied to Lim as follows.

> [F]rom the earliest history of Singapore, trade has been the preoccupation of the Government of Singapore, besides law and order and the welfare of its people which are the usual functions of all government. The politics of Singapore has always been the politics of trade and in this the Government of Singapore had early discovered the soundness of close interdependence between Government and the properly constituted trade bodies found in the local Chambers of Commerce. Any threat to this interdependence is a treat to the historical bedrock of the stability of the country and the well-being and prosperity of its people. This link between the Government and the Chambers of Commerce has been the anchor-sheet of Singapore’s prosperity and any attempt to tamper with this link is to embark on the unpredictable. (TNA: CO 1022/92)

However, it is also worth noting that the British colonial rulers had lost confidence in the wealthy Chinese business leaders as early as the mid-1950s. In a top-secret document of 25 July 1955, Goode addressed several questions related to the election and performance of Singapore’s existing government before meeting with the Secretary of State about the Constitution. ‘The fact must be faced that the majority of the population of Singapore is Chinese, Chinese speaking, wage-earning, envious of the wealth, position and power of the English educated upper class. An Assembly elected by popular vote is elected by this majority’ (TNA: CO 1030/79). British officials echoed this concern about the professional wealthy Chinese elites who dominated the political arena in Singapore: ‘Chinese big business men and the Chinese press go with the tide and look for the winning side. As a whole they have no real loyalty to Britain’ (TNA: CO 1030/79). This affected the attitude of the colonial ruling elites towards Singapore’s wealthy professional Chinese leaders. The British ruling elites tended to support local political elites with the same principles and priorities as the British government, especially those with an anti-Communist leaning. This provided an opportunity for the PAP and Lee Kuan Yew to take power in the 1959 election.

Lee Kuan Yew's Rise to Power

The following section illustrates the rise of Lee Kuan Yew as an anti-Communist and subsequently as leader of Singapore. Lee was suggested as the future leader of Singapore by the British ruling elites immediately after the 1955 election. However, Lee and his party's attitude towards Communism remained unclear, which annoyed the British leaders. In a top-secret document of 25 July 1955 addressed to Lennox-Boyd, W. A. C. Goode answered the question 'what hope is there in the next twelve months of any outstanding leaders appearing – men with more stability than the present Chief Minister, and with organized Party support?' as follows.

> I see only one, Lee Kuan Yew and People's Action Party. If he can wean his Party from Communism and Chinese nationalism, he will provide a possible alternative leader; but European business will take time to digest him. I think the Progressive party are hopelessly discredited at least for the next 12 month; and I cannot see the Chinese business community risking a clash with the Labour Front and P.A.P who would join forces against them. (TNA: CO 1030/79)

The British government elites held a very firm anti-Communism stance. In a secret letter sent within the Colonial Office to Robert Scott, dated 9 July 1956, J. B. Johnston made the following statement.

> You say… if elections were held after a new constitution had been agreed and the P.A.P. won them they would then repudiate the agreements and seek to go to London at once to get what they themselves want. You then say that H.M.G. would have to choose between sweeping concessions to the P.A.P. and suspension of the constitution… in any subsequent negotiation the P.A.P.'s demands will be so radical that H.M.G. would have either to let the negotiations break down again, or sell Singapore down the river. (TNA: CO 1030/82)

Robert Scott clearly indicated that if the PAP was simply a Singaporean branch of the Communist Party, the British government would be willing to suspend the constitutional talks and avoid reaching an agreement with the PAP. The leader of the PAP, Lee Kuan Yew, fully aware of the bottom line of the British ruling elites, began to re-imagine himself and his party as fighters against Communism. In his memoirs, Lee (1998) described the use of various measures to draw a line

between the PAP and Communism; in August 1955, for example, he leaked a story to the *Straits Times* containing the statement that PAP stood for 'an independent, democratic, non-communist, socialist Malaya' (pp. 268-269). The British ruling elites reacted promptly to this statement. According to a report by the Governor of Singapore, Robert Black told Lennox-Boyd on 22 October 1955 that 'Mr. Lee Kuan Yew has publicly stated that he is not a Communist and that he stands for an independent non-Communist Malaya' (TNA: DO 35/6289). In addition, Lee was eager to cut his ties with Communist subversion activities in Singapore, as indicated below.

> Mr. Lee Kuan Yew was away from Singapore at the time [of the general strike], and I am informed that he departed deliberately in order to have no part in the violence. His return, when his colleagues had the broken pieces of their plan lying at their feet, placed him in a strong moral position with his party. (TNA: DO 35/6289)

On 25 May 1956, a secret internal document was sent from General Headquarters, Far East Land Forces to the Ministry of Defence, London for the attention of the British Defence Co-ordination Committee (Far East) concerning internal security in Singapore. The document indicated that Lee had 'come to realise the danger of continued co-operation with the Communist group in the PAP' (TNA: CO 1030/82). Indeed, immediately after the 1955 election, Lee (1998) involved himself eagerly in 'flushing out the communists… [he] decided to tighten constitutional control of the party so that the left wing could not capture it and use us' (p. 268). This was a turning point in the political career of Lee Kuan Yew. Lee began to gain the trust of the British ruling elites, allowing him to lead his party to victory in the next general election, in 1959.

To further consolidate Lee Kuan Yew's power within the PAP, suspected pro-Communist party leaders were removed. A top-secret monthly intelligence report (No. 4, covering the period from 13 October 1956 to 30 November 1956) provided an account of Lee Kuan Yew's strategy for consolidating his power within the PAP

immediately after the government arrested core extremist and pro-Communist party leaders such as Lim Shin Siong (TNA: FCO 141/15063).[33]

Finally, in a secret document addressed to Iain Macleod and dated 15 March 1960, the Earl of Selkirk stated that 'I do not doubt that the present leaders in the P.A.P. Government are anti-Communist. I think they are sincerely so, and I think they are fighting a courageous battle and have a fair chance… of winning' (TNA: DO 35/9877). The British perception of Lee as anti-Communist led to the victory of the PAP in the general election in 1959, and enabled Lee to maintain the status of the PAP as the ruling party. The Foreign Office (No. 73 Intelligence Report on 2 June 1959) reported that '[t]he general elections on May 30 resulted in an overwhelming victory for the People's Action Party led by Lee Kuan Yew which won 43 out of 51 seats… The election was quiet and orderly. Nearly 90% of the electorate voted, and the PAP received 54% of the votes cast'. The report also emphasised that 'PAP will not be, and will not seem to appear to be, a handmaid of Communism' (TNA: DO 35/9877). Lee and the PAP had evidently made successful use of various channels and actors to convince the British ruling elites that the party was genuinely against Communism.

In sum, the empirical evidence presented in this section clearly indicates that the interaction of and competition between elites accounted for the rise of the PAP and the emergence of an autocracy. Constitutional changes and the introduction of governmental elections were merely tools to contain the influence of leaders affiliated with Communism, in response to the threat of Communist infiltration of the Singapore community from surrounding countries. At the same time, the leader of the PAP recognised the importance of severing the party's ties with Communism. Lee's anti-Communist rebranding gained the party the trust of the British ruling elites, enabling Lee to retain his leadership of Singapore for half a century.

[33] 'A confusion resulting from the arrests of Lim Chin Siong and other extremist leaders has temporarily left the right wing of the People's Action Party in full command. Lee Kuan Yew sees his chance of gaining effective control and is reported to be making the most of his opportunity. He appears to be avoiding any entanglement with the affairs of the Chinese Middle Schools' students and is restricting himself to paying lip service to their general defence while taking no practical steps on their behalf. At the same time Lee Kuan Yew is seizing what chance he has of increasing his influence in the Middle Road Trade Unions' (TNA: FCO 141/15063).

5.3 Post-transitional Period

After independence, Lee and his party were effective in controlling Singapore's coercive state capacity to discourage opposition. Conflict with neighbouring countries was manipulated to justify authoritarian governance to 'protect' the country against a so-called common enemy. The ruling elites also adopted measures such as legitimation, repression and co-optation to resolve conflict with local elites and thereby increase the durability of the autocratic regime.

State Capacity

From 1959, the PAP and its leader Lee Kuan Yew held political power in Singapore (Table 5.4). As discussed in Chapter 4, various measures were adopted to eliminate or 'neutralise' political opposition, especially after Singapore was expelled from Malaysia in August 1965. Leaders of trade unions and oppositional parties such as the Barisan Sosialis were subject to stringent control measures imposed by the PAP. Ultimately, the Barisan and other oppositional parties boycotted the 1966 election (see Curless 2016: 64), allowing the PAP to secure full political power. In 1963, PAP members held approximately 70% of the seats in the legislature; between 1968 and 1983, the PAP occupied 100% of the parliamentary seats. In Singapore's most recent election, in 2015, the PAP still managed to gain more than 90% of the seats; oppositional parties were unable to compete with the incumbent (see Chee 2012: i; George 2007: 133-137; Mauzy and Milne 2002: 128; Means 1996: 109-110; Rodan 2003, 2004: 16). In his latest publication, Lee (2013) continued to disparage the two-party system on the grounds that competition in 'uncivil, and even vicious' political campaigns wasted the talent of young people (pp. 210-211). Clearly, the measures implemented by the PAP from 1959 to the present day consolidated the party's leadership and ensured the survival of deviant autocracy in Singapore.

Table 5.4 Results of PAP in Singapore General Elections, 1955 to 2015

Year	Total seats won/Seats up for election	Share of votes
1955	3/25	8.7%
1959	43/51	54.1%
1963	37/51	46.9%
1968	58/58	86.7%
1972	65/65	70.4%
1976	69/69	74.1%
1980	75/75	77.7%
1984	77/79	64.8%
1988	80/81	63.2%
1991	77/81	61%
1997	81/83	65%
2001	82/84	75.3%
2006	82/84	66.6%
2011	81/87	60.1%
2015	83/89	69.86%

Source: Singapore Elections Department (2015); Singapore Elections (2015); TNA: DO 35/6288; TNA: DO 35/9877

International Actors

The conflict between Singapore and neighbouring countries was manipulated by the Singaporean ruling elites to justify the continuation of authoritarian rule. Singapore became independent in 1965, after its expulsion from Malaysia (see Lee 1998). However, conflict between Singapore and Malaysia persisted. For example, the author of a secret document sent from the Commonwealth Office to Holmer of the British High Commission in Singapore on 5 September 1967 wrote that 'we imagine in light of your telegram number 558 that Lee will not wish to come out whole-heartedly in support of the Tunku's proposals for an early five-power meeting on defence' (TNA: PREM 13/1833).

In addition to conflict over military policy, the region saw considerable economic competition. In an internal government document sent to the Commonwealth Office

on 9 November 1966, J. V. Rob of the British High Commission in Singapore quoted part of a speech made by Lee Kuan Yew at a district meeting in Singapore on 20 October 1966.

> At present there is still the British military base in Singapore. Within five or ten years no problems will arise – nobody would dare to come and attack us… Hitherto, the British enjoyed preferential treatment in Malaysia and Singapore. Their cars and textile products were imported into Singapore and Malaysia under the shield of preferential treatment. Now, however, the Malaysian Government has abolished these preferences, British goods have to compete with German and American goods on an equal footing. Thus, ten years hence, the British may say this is not conducive to their interests. Therefore, they may want to withdraw. (TNA: PREM 13/1833)

Due to the intensity of the conflict between Singapore and Malaysia, the ruling elites in Singapore perceived Malaysia as a hostile neighbour with the potential to launch a full-scale attack on Singapore in the foreseeable future. The Singapore government proposed a major expansion of the Singapore Armed Forces, sent to the British Prime Minister on 31 October 1966, on the following grounds.

> It is not unreasonable that Singapore Ministers should regard Malaysia as the main threat… it is clear, however, that, if only because of the disparity of size and population, Singapore could not hope to raise and maintain forces on a scale comparable with those of Malaysia or able to effectively to resist an outright Malaysian attack. (TNA: PREM 13/1833)

The military threat and the problem of unemployment may have been exaggerated by Singapore's leader to justify his resistance to democracy. In a letter to Harold Wilson, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, on 1 April 1966, Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore, mentioned that Singapore's economic development was very robust: from 1959 to September 1963, the gross national product had increased from £226.3 to £321 million. 'In spite of a rapid population growth of 3.5 per cent per annum, the per capita income increased by no less than 26 per cent during this period' (TNA: PREM 13/1833). However, Lee also argued that the 'unemployment position in 1966 is worse than it was in September 1963… With nearly 20 per cent of the working population unemployed, a revolutionary situation would develop which will make democratic representative government impossible' (TNA: PREM 13/1833). In this way, the Singaporean government made successful use of the spurious external threat from

Malaysia (and later Indonesia) and internal socio-economic problems to justify the expansion of Singapore's military forces and the maintenance of an authoritarian regime (see Lee 2013: 174-181, 229; Liu et al. 2002: 7-8; Rodan 2004: 13; Huxley 1991: 204, 2000: 24).

After Singapore's independence, China remained an influential external actor. According to Lee Kuan Yew (2000), '[n]o foreign country other than Britain has had a greater influence on Singapore's political development than China, the ancestral homeland of three-quarters of our people' (p. 564). The attitude of the People's Republic of China (PRC) toward Singapore changed in the 1970s. From 1965 to 1970, the PRC did not recognise Singapore as an independent sovereign state. In the 1970s, however, Singapore became China's second biggest foreign exchange partner. Formal meetings were held between the leaders of the PRC and Singapore, and their bilateral relationship was normalised. For example, Lee met with the Chinese leaders Chairman Mao and Hua Guofeng in May 1976.[34] In his meeting with Hua, Lee urged the PRC not to support the MCP in attempting to 'liberate' Singapore. In return, Hua asked Lee to break Singapore's military ties with Taiwan. Even more importantly, Hua explicitly stated that 'the Chinese government recognises and respects the independence and sovereignty of Singapore' (Lee 2000: 575-585). Unsurprisingly, when Lee passed away in 2015, the Chinese leader Xi Jinping described him as 'an old friend of the Chinese people' in his message of condolence (Ortmann and Thompson 2016: 39; The Wall Street Journal 23 May 2015; South China Morning Post 26 March 2015). Having secured a promise from the Chinese leaders not to intervene in Singapore's internal affairs, Lee was able to ensure the continued leadership of the PAP in Singapore without significant challenges from Communist China.

[34] Lee also held a meeting with Deng Xiaoping on November 1978 in Singapore, and met Zhao Ziyang Deng again on September 1988 in Beijing. In the 1980s and 1990s, Lee 'visited China almost every year' (Lee 2000: 595-618).

Local Elites

In Singapore's post-transitional society, the ruling elites adopted various measures to resolve conflict with and between ethnic and occupational groups of elites, such as legitimation, repression and co-optation, as outlined in the literature on the self-maintenance of autocratic regimes. These measures helped the ruling elites to consolidate their power and weakened the bargaining power of the opposition.

Perceptions of the legitimacy of the Singapore government was based mainly on government performance. First, the PAP ruling elites were eager to ensure that the government remained free of corruption. The incumbent severely punished ministers and government officials involved in corruption, such as Tan Kia Gan in 1966, Wee Toon Boon in 1975, Phey Yew Kok in 1979 and The Cheang Wan in 1986. As a result of these stringent anti-corruption measures, Singapore became one of the least corrupt countries in the world (Lee 2000: 160-163). Under the leadership of the PAP, Singapore experienced rapid economic growth. According to Lee Kuan Yew, the Singapore government sought to achieve economic success and create an international financial centre (Lee 2000: 71-82, 2013: 228).

In addition to implementing measures to obtain the support of fragmented local elites, as discussed in Chapter 4, the ruling elites were also very keen to resolve racial tensions in society. The Singapore government believed that racial tension between ethnic groups affected the internal security and stability of the regime, as indicated in the following excerpt from a secret document sent by the Singapore government to the Commonwealth Relations Office on 1 February 1966.

> Lee Kuan Yew sent for me urgently this afternoon. He said that as a result of ham-handed handling of a recruiting situation at Singapore Infantry Regiment Recruiting Depot this afternoon minor riot had been caused between Malays on the one hand and Chinese and Indian recruits on the other… He feared, however, the possibility that 1st Battalion, Singapore Infantry Regiment, which still contains a number of Malays from Malaya…, would refuse to obey orders. (TNA: PREM 13/1833)

As a result, the ruling elites in Singapore sought to build an army with full loyalty to the government (see Lee 2000: 11-29). In addition, the PAP government formulated a

national-culture policy to enhance Singaporeans' sense of a national identity. The new national-culture policy had two major goals: to de-emphasise Chinese, Malay and Indian identity and culture, and to promote the use of the English language (see Chong 2006: 289-290). It is interesting to note that both the British colonial rulers of Singapore and the post-independence PAP government manipulated Singaporeans' perceptions of national identity to serve their own political interests.

The PAP government also implemented measures to suppress challenges from the opposition. After April 1968, various acts were introduced to discourage strikes, such as the Employment Act, the Industrial Relations (Amendment) Act and acts relating to trade unions (Lee 2000: 87). For example, the union leader K. Suppiah, president of the Public Daily Rated Employees' Unions Federation, was arrested and charged with organising an 'illegal strike', as 'the government could not allow any union to jeopardize Singapore's survival' (Lee 2000: 85-86). Further measures taken by the government to control the opposition are described in Chapter 4.

Conclusion

This chapter shows that the fragmentation of the interests of elites, both internal and external, during Singapore's transitional period helped an autocratic leader to take power. The rise of the PAP ruling elite was also aided by various external factors, especially decolonisation, nationalism manipulated by the British and fused with anti-colonial sentiment, the perceived threat of Communism from China and Malaysia and the complicated relationship between Singapore and Malaysia. The British ruling elites had to rely on institutional arrangements, such as carefully drafted constitutional documentation and election procedures, to ensure that the post-transitional society was attuned to British's political, economic, defence and military interests. Most importantly, it was believed that these interests could be safeguarded as long as Singapore was free of the control of Communism.

Internally, the competition between local elites in Singapore was tense and severe during the transitional period. It involved indigenous rulers and elite groups fragmented along both ethnic and occupational lines. The introduction of direct elections in 1955 intensified the competition among elites. This chapter investigates the conflict between Chinese, Malay and Indian ethnic leaders. There was also competition between other political leaders with different interests, such as traditional Chinese business elites and elites representing the interest of workers and workers' unions. In the process of decolonisation, the British colonial ruling elites searched for a reliable leader for Singapore's post-transitional society capable of both protecting British interests and embracing anti-Communist ideals.

The leader of the PAP, Lee Kuan Yew, successfully rebranded his party as anti-Communist, dispelling its former radical, left-wing and pro-Communist associations. As discussed, it was within the power of the Colonial Office to suspend Singapore's Constitution if the PAP proved to be too radical and incapable of safeguarding British interests (TNA: CO 1030/82). Lee was fully aware of the stance of the British ruling elites, and made use of various channels to express his anti-Communist ideas, thereby regaining the trust of the colonial authority. During the post-transitional period, after the PAP and Lee had secured power in the 1959 election, measures were adopted to ensure the survival of autocratic rule, as widely documented in the literature. Among these measures were the promotion of economic performance (Bell 1997: 6; Chua 1995; Huff 1994; Thompson 2004), depoliticisation (Chua 1983: 32) and the manipulation of electoral laws, rules and regulations (Barr 2014: 29; Gomez 2006; Rodan 2006; Tan 2013: 633; Tremewan 1994). This case study is not designed to repeat previous researchers' analysis of autocratic consolidation. Instead, examination of the interaction of elite groups and the process by which the PAP and Lee came to power during the transitional period offers valuable insights into the emergence of deviant autocracies.

The next chapter presents another case study of deviant autocracy, in a Hong Kong setting. Neo actor-based analysis of Hong Kong's transitional period and troubled decolonisation, together with the intersection of internal and external elite interests, is shown to shed light on the emergence and development of deviant autocracies.

Chapter 6: Dominance of Business Elites in Hong Kong

Introduction

During decolonisation, both Hong Kong and Singapore engaged in dispute with the same international actor, Communist China. However, considerable bargaining and competition between external actors occurred in the former case, as China sought to revoke Britain's sovereignty over Hong Kong. In contrast, Singapore's colonial ruling elites were concerned only about the infiltration of Communism from China and Malaya. During Hong Kong's transitional period, actors from both the Chinese government and the British government implemented checks and balances and manipulated the interests of business elites to derive a non-democratic political structure to protect the interests of external actors in post-transitional Hong Kong society.

To investigate the origin and development of Hong Kong's deviant autocracy, the following three periods are analysed by process tracing, using predominantly empirical archival data. 1) A pre-transitional period: the British colonial period before the British and Chinese governments discussed Hong Kong's future. 2) A transitional period from September 1982, when the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, made an official visit to Beijing to discuss Hong Kong's sovereignty with the Chinese ruling elites, until the handover of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China in June 1997. The focus of this chapter is the negotiation between actors from China and the United Kingdom from 1982 to 1984, which determined the major features of the economic and political framework of Hong Kong's post-transitional society. 3) A post-transitional period, from July 1997 to the present day.

To understand Hong Kong's failure to transition to democracy, one must closely examine the interaction of various actors during the Chinese and British

governments' negotiations on Hong Kong's sovereignty. Hong Kong reached a crossroads in the 1980s due to the impending expiry of the lease of the New Territories (constituting 92% of the total area of Hong Kong), in 1997. This presented an opportunity for political transition in Hong Kong. The associated negotiations involved various external actors from the United Kingdom, China and the United States, and internal actors such as business elites, indigenous leaders and members of opposition parties (see Appendix B). The relationships between these actors played important roles in determining the pace and direction of democratisation in Hong Kong.

The major finding reported in this chapter is that Hong Kong's failure to transition to democracy was mainly due to mistrust between ruling elites in Britain and China, which enabled business elites to gain political control of Hong Kong. Indeed, business elites have long dominated Hong Kong's political arena. During the pre-transitional period, Hong Kong's major business elites were absorbed into the government. During the transitional period, neither side of the negotiations wholeheartedly promoted democracy in Hong Kong, as the installation of a genuinely democratic system was expected to harm the interests of both governments. The sovereignty and administration of post-handover Hong Kong provided an arena for competition between elites with different interests. Due to mutual distrust between the Beijing and British governments, and the great divisions revealed in negotiation on the political economy of Hong Kong during the transitional period, business elites in Hong Kong entrenched their position to secure the region's prosperity and stability. State capacity was hampered by the efforts made by these elites to preserve external actors' interests and pursue their own political and economic interests. Therefore, the oppositional forces were unable to push forward genuine democracy.

This chapter is divided into three parts corresponding to the three abovementioned periods of Hong Kong's history. The neo actor-based analytical approach developed in Chapter 4 is used to scrutinise the intersections between state capacity, internal elites and external actors to account for the emergence of a deviant autocracy in Hong Kong.

6.1 Pre-transitional Period

The colonial structure of Hong Kong before the transitional period was largely non-democratic and strictly controlled by the Governor. The international bargaining situation was mainly affected by decolonisation, the Cold War in Asia, the rise of Communist China in 1949 and the Cultural Revolution in China from the 1960s to 1970s. It involved various international actors such as China, the United States and Britain, whose representatives interacted with each other to secure their own interests. In the pre-transitional period, local business elites were generally absorbed into government bodies as a strategy of co-optation to safeguard business and investment interests. The resulting business and government coalition reinforced the status of pro-establishment business elites, enhancing the durability of the non-democratic regime.

State Capacity

Hong Kong's coercive state capacity was monopolised by the British colonial ruling elites. As in Singapore, the structure of the colonial government in Hong Kong's pre-transitional period was dominated by British elites with few significant challenges from the opposition, if any. The Governor was subordinate to the Colonial Office and principal government officials, and the members of the Executive Council (ExCo) and Legislative Council (LegCo) were appointed by the Governor (see Miners 1998: 53-58; Wight 1952: 17). The colonial government operated on the principle of benevolent paternalism (see England 1971: 214-215; Pepper 2000: 416-417; Tsang 2004: 27). In a report prepared by the Commonwealth Office for circulation in a meeting of the Defence Review Working Party on 18 August 1967, the following reasons were provided for delaying the introduction of 'representative institutions'.

> We are inhibited from developing representative institutions by the danger that any politics in Hong Kong would be the politics of the two Chinas and that a determined Communist minority in a generally

> apathetic electorate would engineer control of such institutions. (TNA: FCO 40/78)

In other words, the state capacity of Hong Kong was to a very large extent influenced by the international bargaining situation between Communist China and the United Kingdom.

The local elites in Hong Kong generally lacked a sense of national identity, due to the region's colonial history and lack of capacity for independence. The common decolonisation trajectory of former British colonies involved self-determination and the establishment of a democratic political structure. However, the situation in Hong Kong was different. After 1972, when Hong Kong was removed from the list of United Nations colonies, local elites generally agreed that Hong Kong society lacked the capacity for independence (Chung 2001: 48). Two major factors were responsible for this incapacity. First, there was no demand for independence in Hong Kong, as indicated in a letter to Sir Hilton Poynton of the Colonial Office on 30 October 1962 from Robin Black (Governor of Hong Kong from 23 January 1958 to 1 April 1964).

> There has been no substantial or sustained movement towards self-determination and self-government in Hong Kong. People who have, from time to time, advocated such a course have been generally dismissed as unrealistic, irrational or disingenuous. There is emphatically no emotional popular support for such a course. (TNA: CO 1030/1300)

In the Defence Review Working Party meeting of the Cabinet's Defence and Oversea Policy (Official) Committee on 26 June 1967, it was suggested that '[a] separate existence for Hong Kong independent of British or China, under some neutral United Nations status is impracticable' (TNA: FCO 40/77). Therefore, the only viable solution to the Hong Kong problem was either to retain the status quo – i.e. continued British administration – or to return Hong Kong's sovereignty to the People's Republic of China (PRC).

International Actors

When tracing back to the historical record, it reveals that the status of Hong Kong was disputed due to various international events in the 19th century. Hong Kong has three major parts: Hong Kong Island, the Kowloon Peninsula and the New Territories. Hong Kong Island and the Kowloon Peninsula were ceded to the United Kingdom in 1842 and 1860, respectively, after the Anglo-Chinese Wars. In 1898, the Qing government[35] leased the New Territories to the British government for 99 years in the Convention for the Extension of Hong Kong Territory, while scrambling for concessions in China (see Hsü 1995: 348-349). These distinctive historical events complicated the status of Hong Kong's sovereignty, giving it a combination of free-holders and lease-holders (see Patten 1999: 12-13). The events involved a range of major international actors, which prevented decolonisation from proceeding as normal in Hong Kong. Talks officially began on 22 September 1982. On 19 December 1984, after 5 secret unofficial talks and 22 rounds of official talks, the British government and the Chinese government agreed to sign the Sino-British Joint Declaration in Beijing to solve the historical problem of Hong Kong's disputed status. However, this also stunted the development of democracy in Hong Kong (Lu 2009: 40-41).

International Bargaining Situation

The situation was further complicated by the post-war international bargaining situation, combined with the Cold War mentality in Asia in the 1940s (see Cheung 2012: 329-330; Mark 2000: 837-839). An internal British government document suggested that the leader of the Republic of China, Chiang Kai-shek, was eager to maintain a good relationship with the United States after the Second World War; therefore, the British government was under less pressure to give up Hong Kong. In the post-war period

[35] China's last imperial dynasty.

before 1949, there was no significant threat to Britain's authority in Hong Kong after the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong (TNA: FCO 40/424).

However, when the Republic of China was defeated by the Chinese Communist Party in 1949, Britain was forced into a more passive role in negotiations with China on the subject of Hong Kong. As China was under the control of the Communist Party from 1949, its conflict with other international actors was inevitably exacerbated by the Cold War mentality. In addition, Hong Kong was subject to potential military and economic threats due to its geographical proximity to mainland China (see TNA: CO 537/6045). In a secret internal report issued by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) on August 1982, entitled *The Future of Hong Kong: A Special Study*, the following statement was made: '[n]o solution will in any case be possible without Chinese cooperation. The territory is indefensible against military or economic pressure from the PRC' (TNA: T 442/52). With insufficient military or economic capacity to oppose Communist China, the British government was unable to initiate constitutional changes in Hong Kong.

The British government was reluctant to initiate official negotiations with China on the future of Hong Kong due to the establishment of Communist control over China in 1949 and the internal political turmoil in mainland China created by the Cultural Revolution. In a document produced for consideration at a meeting of the Defence Review Working Party on 26 June 1967, Arthur N. Galsworthy of the Commonwealth Office clearly illustrated the concerns of Hong Kong's ruling elites (see TNA: FCO 40/77).[36]

As a result, Hong Kong became a disputed territory influenced by a single external actor, Communist China. This complicated status was reflected in an internal policy paper prepared by the FCO on 13 June 1975 on the future of Britain's dependent territories. This paper revealed that the status of Hong Kong would 'remain dependent for the foreseeable future [on] extraneous factors… Our freedom of action is limited

[36] 'Sir David Trench and General Worsley believe that there is nothing we can do at present to organise a general withdrawal from Hong Kong… we are trapped in Hong Kong… if we possibly can, until the post-Mao period, in the hope that we might then get back to a less dangerous relationship with mainland China… we should then very seriously look for a suitable opportunity of extricating ourselves from Hong Kong by a negotiated settlement with Peking' (TNA: FCO 40/77).

by our bilateral relations with China' (TNA: FCO 40/911). Dispute between Britain and China regarding Hong Kong's sovereignty and the expiry of the lease on the New Territories in 1997 limited the scope for constitutional development in Hong Kong, such as the introduction of democracy.

Eventually, the two governments had to decide on Hong Kong's future. The British ruling elites considered the interests of other external actors when formulating Britain's approach to the relationship with China. The United States was one of the major international actors shaping British policy towards China, due to the Vietnam War and Cold War sentiment (see Cheung 2012: 330). Internal government documents revealed that Britain would be unable to rely on the United States in the event of a military threat from China. In a top-secret letter to T. A. K. Elliott dated 21 June 1967, E. Bolland reported that 'I am myself very doubtful whether we could ever manage to persuade the Americans to give some form of open-ended guarantee to Hong Kong… any discussion about the long term future of Hong Kong must take into account American interests there and what they would be prepared to do to protect them' (TNA: FCO 40/77). Due to changes in the international political bargaining environment, particularly the PRC's new membership of the Security Council (as described in the abovementioned 1972 paper on the future of Hong Kong), the British government had to handle its relationship with China with particular care. In the event of a serious dispute with China, the British government might not have received full and unconditional support from the world's super-powers (see TNA: FCO 21/1023).

From the perspective of the United States, Hong Kong had little strategic value, serving only as a 'recreational centre for [United States] forces engaged in the Vietnam war' – a role that could have been filled by either the Philippines or Taiwan. According to an internal British government report in November 1967, '[t]he Americans also use[d] Hong Kong as their major centre for "China watching"' (TNA: FCO 40/78). The British navy welcomed the visits of United States naval vessels to Hong Kong despite the lack of a concrete promise to defend Hong Kong against an attack from China. According to the Ministerial Committee, 'the presence of United States ships had a good effect on local confidence, could be useful if an emergency evacuation became

necessary and could be expected to have some deterrent effect on the actions of the Chinese Government' (TNA: FCO 40/78).

Crown Colony versus Leased Territory

The intention of the Chinese leaders, driven by nationalism, was simply to recover the sovereignty of Hong Kong. In addition to pursuing official negotiations, the Chinese leaders repeatedly criticised the treaties signed by the Qing government that ceded Hong Kong Island and the Kowloon Peninsula to British control, namely those agreed upon by Lord Thomson and Zhou Enlai in 1973 (TNA: FCO 40/424); during Crawford Murray MacLehose's official visit to Beijing on 29 March 1979 (Miners 1992: 278; Tsang 2004); and during a telephone conversation between Edward Heath and Deng Xiaoping on 6 April 1982 (TNA: CAB 133/528). In *Defence Expenditure Study No. 13: Special Study on Hong Kong*, prepared by W. S. Carter of the Commonwealth Office on March 1967, the statement was made that 'China regards Hong Kong as Chinese territory to be recovered in due course. No Chinese Government is likely to agree to renewal of the lease of the New Territories in 1997; and return of the New Territories (without which the reminder of the Colony could hardly be viable) is certain to be accompanied by a demand for return of the ceded areas' (TNA: FCO 40/77).

Nevertheless, conflict arose between the ruling elites of the United Kingdom and China regarding the sovereignty, administration and structure of Hong Kong during the transitional period and after the handover in 1997. In an internal document prepared by the Hong Kong and General Department on 3 September 1982 for the British Prime Minister, prior to the latter's Beijing visit, the problems related to Hong Kong's sovereignty were clearly outlined. The British government was fully aware of the intention of the Beijing government to '"recover" sovereignty over it all', but recognised that 'subject to this they wish to preserve the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong... under a similar system [as] the present but without continued British administration' (TNA: PREM 19/789). In general, the Beijing and British governments interpreted the sovereignty of Hong Kong differently. The major difference lay in the

Chinese government's refusal to recognise the Treaty of Nanking and the Treaty of Beijing, which were signed by the Qing leaders and British government officials in 1842 and 1860, respectively. The following account was provided in a Foreign Office archival document of 1968,[37] entitled *Future Sovereignty of Hong Kong: Defence Review Working Party Long-term Study*.

> The Chinese regard Hong Kong [Island, the Kowloon Peninsula] and the New Territories as part of China. It is doubtful whether they see any essential difference between the status of the Crown Colony and the leased territory. They consider that all the 19th century treaties with the Great Powers were "unequal" and that the present Chinese Government should not necessarily continue to be bound by them. The most specific official statement about the way in which the Chinese regard the treaties relating to Hong Kong appeared in a People's Daily editorial of 9 March, 1963, which said that "with regard to the outstanding issues which are a legacy of the past we have always held that when conditions are ripe (such questions) should be settled peacefully through negotiations. Pending a settlement, the *status quo* should be maintained". (TNA: FCO 40/79)

In light of the above differences regarding the sovereignty of Hong Kong, the British government sought to maintain Hong Kong's administration after 1997 to uphold the interests of business elites, especially companies based in the United Kingdom. In December 1970, K. M. Wilford offered the following advice in an FCO document addressed to Sir L. Monson: 'if possible, maintain our presence in Hong Kong, even post 1997' (TNA: FCO 40/265). There is also evidence that the British government manipulated the sovereignty and administration of Hong Kong to safeguard Britain's interests. In a letter to Sir Arthur Galsworthy of the Commonwealth Office, dated 19 July 1967, H. L. Jenkyns of the Department of Economic Affairs made the following observation.

> We have leases on the main part of the territory of Hong Kong which expire in 1997, and it has, I think, been generally accepted that we could not hang on to the ceded territories beyond that date; the early surrender of leases and ceded territories ought to be a bargaining factor. (TNA: FCO 40/77)

[37] The Foreign Office (1782-1968) combined with the Commonwealth Office (1966-1968; known as the Colonial Office in 1925-1966) to become the FCO (1968-present).

The negotiations provided a means for the British elites not only to bargain with the Chinese authority to avoid a humiliating takeover and forced retreat, but to protect British investors' interest in Hong Kong by preserving the capitalist system.

China's Interests[38]

MacLehose, among others, suggested that the Chinese government had certain economic incentives to take back Hong Kong from Britain, as follows.

> They [the Chinese government] might see merit in some continuing arrangement for Hong Kong whereby a special regime was established that nominally removed the colonial stigma, but preserved for China some of the economic and other material and political benefits of the present status, saved them from having to absorb a population with such different standards of living and attitudes of mind, and on the other hand preserved for foreigners a tolerable trading base, some security for investment and acceptable living conditions while concentrating them in a single area where they did not affect life in the rest of China. (TNA: FCO 21/1023)

Another report in November 1967 suggested that the 'strength of our negotiating position lies in the economic value of Hong Kong to China as a source of foreign exchange' (TNA: FCO 40/78). In 1976, Anthony Crosland also reported that '[t]here have been reliable indications that the new Chinese leadership, like its predecessors, is content with the status quo and does not wish to undermine the security of prosperity of Hong Kong from which China derives major economic benefits' (TNA: PREM 16/1533). This assumption can be verified by cross-checking the economic

[38] The original intention was to collect the majority of the archival data from the State Archives Administration of the PRC. However, there are three hurdles to the procurement of archival data from the Chinese government, as follows. 1) The materials are subject to security clearance, and prior approval from relevant government departments is needed to access the archives. In addition, no information on sensitive topics is available to the public; the materials available cover only economics, sciences, technology and culture. 2) The service is not available to foreigners; only citizens with valid identity cards can gain access to the premises. 3) As the Archives Law of the PRC was ratified in 1987, the most valuable materials from Hong Kong's transitional period in the late 1970s and early 1980s were not protected (see the State Archives Administration of the PRC, 2016). To overcome the above problems and ensure the validity of the findings, archival materials from the National Archives in London were analysed and cross-checked with the memoirs of various Chinese officials with active roles in the transitional period, such as Lu (2009) and Chung (2001).

activities of Hong Kong, United Kingdom and China during the period under study (Table 6.1). There was a substantial increase in imports from China via Hong Kong from 1969 to 1978, with import value rising from $2,700 million to $10,549.99 million. China was also the second largest importer from Hong Kong. Undoubtedly, the absorption into China of a formerly British-administered Hong Kong would significantly enhance China's economic competitiveness and provide up-to-date Western insights into the operation of various legal, social, economic and financial systems. Therefore, according to Premier Zhou Enlai, China's long-term strategy in relation to Hong Kong was 'long-term planning and full utilisation' (Lu 2009: 5).

Table 6.1: Hong Kong's Trade with Major Countries in 1969 and 1978 (in Million $)

	Imports				**Exports**			
Year	Japan	China	United States	United Kingdom	United States	United Kingdom	Fed. Rep. of Germany	Canada
1969	3,484	2,700	2,002	1,201	4,428	1,465	765	352
1978	14,404.74	10,549.77	7,519.29	2,975.25	15,124.51	3,870.77	4,426.48	1,271.40

Source: Census and Statistical Department of the Hong Kong government (1970; Table 6.6, p. 26); Census and Statistical Department of the Hong Kong government (1980; Table 5.5, p. 18)

China's pragmatic leaders were eager to help Hong Kong through various crises, such as riots and constraints on water and other resources, to maintain the stability and economic prosperity of the region. During the 1956 riots in Hong Kong, 'Zhou En-lai delivered oral protest to British Chargé in Peking on riots in Hong Kong. Subsequently he told journalists that the Chinese Government would not allow such disorder on the doorstep of China' (TNA: PREM 19/792). Zhou En-lai thus provided verbal consent for a hard crackdown on the leftist movement in Hong Kong. The internal document excerpted above also acknowledged practical help from China. 'On a number of occasions the Communist authorities showed a helpful attitude to Hong Kong, e.g. during the severe drought of 1963-64, and on more than on occasion they took steps to moderate the activities of their local supporters in Hong Kong' (TNA: FCO 40/77). In an internal brief (No. 12) created on the visit of the Chinese Foreign Minister

from 10 to 14 October 1978, this 'helpful attitude' was again acknowledged. 'Glad that our relations over Hong Kong are so good and are developing well. Grateful for the rapid and constructive Chinese response on the question of water. Hope that our practical co-operation and mutual interest in the stability and prosperity of Hong Kong will continue to flourish to the benefit of all concerned' (TNA: PREM 16/1534). Maintaining prosperity and stability in Hong Kong seemed to be a goal shared by the British and Chinese governments. An aide-memoire released by the FCO on 7 June 1973 also revealed that the British and Chinese governments had 'two important interests in common… to preserve the stability and prosperity of Hong Kong and to preserve the relationship which has developed between our two countries' (TNA: PREM 15/1328).

Deng Xiaoping, who came to power after China's Cultural Revolution, provided a pragmatic solution to the problem of Hong Kong's disputed sovereignty. Hong Kong had practised capitalism under the British administration for more than 150 years, whereas China's political system was socialist; nevertheless, Deng suggested maintaining the political status quo in Hong Kong after 1997. A breakthrough in the talks between Britain and China came in August 1982, when the former British Prime Minister, Edward Heath, visited Beijing. Deng's suggestion is paraphrased below.

> Sovereignty over Hong Kong would belong to China, but… Hong Kong itself could remain a free port and an international financial centre… there could be local government in Hong Kong. The new Chinese state constitution would specifically allow for the creation of Special Administrative Zones. The local government would be formed by the inhabitants… The "various systems" of Hong Kong would remain unchanged. (TNA: CAB 133/528)

The proposed solution was an early manifestation of the concept of 'one country, two systems'. It paved the way for the official negotiations between Thatcher and Deng in September 1982.

Britain's Interests

Hong Kong's distinctive geographical location offered the United Kingdom an important vantage point in the international arena. In a top-secret document dated 24 February 1960, in which the main objectives of the United Kingdom's overseas and strategic policies were discussed, the following account was provided of the usefulness of Hong Kong.

> Our presence in Hong Kong brings us economic advantage and useful intelligence… Without the leased territories the Colony is not viable… Our position in Hong Kong may be expected to give us some influence over the Americans when they are ready to reconsider their policy towards Communist China and Formosa. Meanwhile, we have no choice but to remain in Hong Kong and should, without provoking the Chinese, show that we intend to do so. (TNA: CO 1030/1300)

According to another internal government document, *Future of Hong Kong in 1949-1957*, the main financial consideration governing Britain's decision on Hong Kong's future was the 'British capital invested in Hongkong… Sterling is the traditional currency of Far Eastern trade, and the loss of Hongkong would be very serious to the prospect of re-establishing economic stability in that area' (TNA: T 236/4274). Due to the British government's desire to maintain Britain's influence in Asia and worldwide, Hong Kong became an arena for competition between various major external actors seeking to maximise their influence and power and uphold their own interests.

After the early 1970s, the colonial government was eager to develop Hong Kong's economy to increase its bargaining power with China and thereby achieve a better deal. The main reason for fostering economic development in Hong Kong is clear from a review of following secret British government internal documents. According to the abovementioned paper on the future of Hong Kong between 1 January 1972 and 31 December 1972, 'our objective should be… to gain 10 or 15 years in which Hong Kong can have time to grow and prosper in confidence, suppress its warts and wrinkles, and become as hard for China to absorb as possible, and in which post Mao/Zhou China can emerge and show its credentials as a negotiating partner' (TNA: FCO 21/1023). Policy makers in both Hong Kong and the United Kingdom were

eager to promote Hong Kong's socio-economic development to maximise their bargaining power with China on the issue of Hong Kong's sovereignty.

According to a top-secret memorandum produced by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs on 18 January 1973, Lord Thomson learned from Zhou Enlai that the Chinese government was willing to negotiate with Britain on 'the lease of the New Territories' and the settlement of 'unequal' treaties (TNA: FCO 40/424). To prepare for the talks with China, the British government re-evaluated its negotiating position in 1967 (see TNA: FCO 40/78).[39] Returning only the New Territories to China in 1997 was expected to be technically impossible, as the Kowloon Peninsula and Hong Kong Island 'could not be viably separated from the main industrial areas in the New Territories… Continued retention of these areas would make no sense, either economically or politically' (TNA: FCO 40/78). Therefore, anticipating rapid economic growth in Hong Kong, the British government planned a tentative timetable for negotiation with the Beijing government in the mid-1980s. According to an internal document written in 1967, the British government expected this negotiation to occur in 'about 1985 (possibly a few years earlier)' (TNA: FCO 40/77).

Local Elites

Local pro-Communists constituted one of the major local elite groups in Hong Kong in the pre-transitional period. China, as a Communist regime, placed considerable emphasis on ideological indoctrination following the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution (1966 to 1976). In response to China's internal turmoil, pro-Communist insurgency groups in Hong Kong were mobilised to launch worker strikes, anti-imperialist campaigns and terrorist attacks in the city area, collectively known as the

[39] 'The weakness of our negotiating position is that we have many hostages in Hong Kong in terms of people and assets… Our military capability (including nuclear capability) could hardly be a factor in a situation in which we were trying to get China to the conference table – particularly since China's assessment is probably that we would not use it even in defense of Hong Kong against a military take-over' (TNA: FCO 40/78).

1967 riots. The mob forced the British colonial government to retreat from Hong Kong. After weeks of confrontation, Hong Kong's police force managed to stabilise the situation by implementing ferocious crackdown operations and arresting the leftist leaders (see King 1975; Scott 1989; TNA: PREM 19/792).

Business elites, especially those in the banking industry, also played an important role during the pre-transitional period. The urgent need for talks regarding the future of Hong Kong intensified in the late 1970s, when investors became increasingly worried about their investment in Hong Kong; and further after 1997, especially in relation to loan agreements and land leases (Chung 2001: 28-29; Lu 2009: 7). The banking industry was reluctant to approve mortgage applications beyond 1997, which severely limited loan repayments, liquidity and property development in Hong Kong. It was believed that if the ruling elites failed to retain the confidence of the business elites, the latter would relocate their wealth, assets and investments to other countries, which would be unfavourable to both the British government and the Chinese government. Archival data show that as a result, government officials on both sides were eager to reassure local elites that their status would be preserved. This protected both British and Chinese interests and smoothened the transfer of sovereignty over Hong Kong from Britain to China (TNA: PREM 19/1056; TNA: PREM 19/1057).

During the negotiations, the Beijing government was keen to build stronger ties with young Hong Kong professionals to foster confidence, stability and prosperity in the region. The memoirs of Lu Ping, head of the Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office of the State Council of the PRC, reveal that the Chinese authorities expended considerable effort and time on lobbying Hong Kong-based British investors not to change the domicile of their investments. The Chinese authority believed that protecting the interests of British companies in Hong Kong would help to stabilise the Hong Kong economy as a whole (Lu 2009: 35, 47). Historically, local business elites were closely integrated with the colonial administration. The directors/senior managers of conglomerates based in the United Kingdom, such as Jardine Matheson, the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Wheelock Marden and Swire, had long been appointed by the Governor to occupy key positions in the Hong Kong

government, such as membership of the Executive Council, the LegCo, the Urban Council and various consultative committees (see So 2000: 365). According to Tsang (2004), '[t]he main driving force behind the British mercantile community's political activism was self-interest' (p. 3). British interests in Hong Kong could only be safeguarded if the region was politically and economically stable. To further increase their bargaining power, young professionals established close links with the Beijing officials and played a key role in transmitting messages from Beijing officials to British officials. This enabled the local elites to build up a social network or *guanxi* with Beijing officials to pave the way for their future business and career development in Hong Kong after 1997, and helped the Chinese government to select potential candidates to ensure that Hong Kong was ruled by Hong Kong people.

6.2 Transitional Process

During the transitional period, the ruling elites manipulated state capacity to protect their own interests. Similar to the strategy adopted in Singapore during decolonisation, the British colonial ruling elites attempted to develop an electoral autocracy to resist the influence of Communism. The election process mainly involved selecting representatives from business elites willing and able to safeguard British interests in the post-transitional society. Those measures were adopted and further refined by the Chinese ruling elites to consolidate their own power after the handover.

To capture the dynamics of international interaction during the transitional period, this section investigates the following four major areas. First, the competition for Hong Kong's sovereignty between Chinese and British ruling elites. Second, international bargaining between various external actors. Third, the major concerns of the Chinese ruling elites about the situation in Hong Kong. Fourth, the ways in which the Chinese ruling elites interacted and bargained with local Hong Kong elites to attain their support and confidence.

The local elites in Hong Kong hoped to seize the opportunity to empower themselves during the transitional period. Although local elites were officially excluded from the negotiation process, they had informally built up a network and trust with the British and Chinese ruling elites. As a result, the local business elites were expected by both the Chinese and the British to reliably protect the interests of their respective governments in Hong Kong's post-transitional society.

State Capacity

To safeguard Britain's interests, it was urgently necessary to develop an electoral autocracy in Hong Kong, as indicated in the secret minutes drafted on 25 June 1984 by Sir Geoffrey Howe, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, for the attention of the Prime Minister: '[i]t is likely that in Hong Kong and the UK the main interest will focus on the proposed arrangements for the indirect election of members of the Legislative Council and the arguments put forward for not introducing any element of direct elections at this level… Some may also point out that the proposals would mean that the last real chance of introducing a western-style democracy in Hong Kong before 1997 is being wasted' (TNA: PREM 19/1265). Another secret document, *Future of Hong Kong: Policy Review – Discussion Paper for EXCO*, conveyed a similar idea: '[t]here should be [an] evolution of the system of Government gradually over the years up to 1997 in a manner which would strength its ability to resist interference' (TNA: PREM 19/1059). To recapitulate, the introduction to Hong Kong of democracy, or more accurately partial direct elections, was intended to empower local business elites to protect British's capital investment in Hong Kong without interference from the Chinese government after 1997.

The Governor of Hong Kong, Sir Edward Youde, gave a similar reason for the British promotion of democratic institutions in a telegram (No. 1973) sent to the FCO on 19 December 1983, as follows.

> [T]he attitude of the Chinese government has always been considered a major obstacle to the introduction of a more

> representative form of government in Hong Kong… Moving too quickly could lead to rapid polarisation of the community and might create a danger of political rivalries (e.g. between pro-Taiwan and pro-China) irrelevant to Hong Kong's real concerns… At the same time checks and balances must be buil[t] in to minimize opportunities for Chinese interference. (TNA: PREM 19/1059)

Accordingly, checks and balances were implemented to secure the role of business elites in Hong Kong and thereby counteract the influence of China on local Hong Kong politics (see Lau and Kuan 2000: 720; Pepper 2000: 422).

During the transitional period, it was imperative for senior positions in the Hong Kong government to be filled by Chinese elites. This provided another favourable condition for the dominance of local business elites. The Hong Kong colonial administration had been controlled by the British since 1842. The Governor of Hong Kong was a former London official with the power to appoint all senior government officials and members of ExeCo and LegCo. During the negotiation, both governments, albeit for different reasons and with different intentions, recommended that more local Hong Kong elites be given senior positions in Hong Kong. The concerns of the British were captured in a report by Lord Belstead after a meeting (in the presence of Sir Percy Cradock) with the Unofficial Members of the Executive and Legislative Councils (UMELCO), students, members of District Boards and leading bankers on 6-10 December 1982. Lord Belstead reported that the reassignment of senior government roles from expatriates to local Chinese was crucial to prevent the exploitation of these roles by Hong Kong's future Communist Chinese government (TNA: PREM 19/1053).[40]

The rationale for hindering the promotion of democracy in Hong Kong can be found in various internal government documents. On 29 December 1983, Youde telegraphed (No. 2034) a draft ExeCo paper entitled *Future of Hong Kong:*

[40] 'I was struck by a growing sense of frustration among younger Chinese people that they do not have greater participate in decisions, and that Hong Kong is beholden to an expatriate administration at the very top, e.g. there is no Chinese Official member of EXCO, a remarkable state of affairs considering that it is the future of the Hong Kong Chinese which is at stake in the talks. I believe that as soon as possible the Hong Kong government would be wise to ensure appointment of more Hong Kong Chinese to top posts in the Government administration and in the consultative political bodies… [Lord Belstead] found the lack of Hong Kong Chinese in more senior positions very worrying. This represents a gap which needs to be filled otherwise it can be exploited all too easily by the Chinese' (TNA: PREM 19/1053).

Constitutional and Governmental Development to the FCO. In response to a demand for the election of Western-educated professional middle class members to LegCo, the following options were suggested.

> Progressive development, building on existing institutions… the selection of the unofficial membership of the Legislative Council in part through elections from an electoral college made up of people who had themselves been directly elected to lower level bodies (Regional Councils and District Boards) and in part through elections from identified functional groups such as industrial associations, the universities, the medical profession, labour boards and so on. The relationship with the administration would be retained by the membership on this council of a few key officials… The post of Governor or Chief Executive to be filled through a consultative process, confirmed by election, again on an electoral college basis similar to that proposed for the Legislative Council… [The second option is] to move directly to the introduction of a fully elective system based on adult suffrage involving: Direct elections of all unofficial members of the Legislative Council… The Governor to be directly elected. (TNA: PREM 19/1059)

However, the second option was not appealing to senior British government officials. In a letter to the British Prime Minister on 23 December 1983 (PM/83/103), Geoffrey Howe offered the following caveats.

> The Governor puts considerable emphasis on the need to build on Hong Kong's existing institutions and to retain continuity. For that reason he favours a system of collegiate, rather than direct election, whereby various boards and councils produce the indirectly elected Legislative Council which in turn would elect Governor… I am not yet quite so convinced of the wisdom of going too far down the democratic road… there was some signs of Chinese reservations on this point – for example, from Ji Pengfei. And we both, I think, have some anxieties about the risk that elections might stir up conflict in Hong Kong itself. Even so we cannot escape the need to suggest some mechanism to replace existing procedures, so as to avoid leaving a constitutional vacuum which the Chinese could exploit. (TNA: PREM 19/1059)

In other words, the introduction of democracy to Hong Kong, especially elections, was hindered by the following three factors: the threat of Chinese intervention, the need to retain the confidence of business elites in Hong Kong and the need to prevent confrontation within Hong Kong society. The strategy adopted by the colonial

administration was to rely on professional business elites from various sectors to formulate an electoral college to indirectly elect the Governor and members of LegCo (after 1997).

Youde elaborated further on the goals of the reform in the above paper (TNA: PREM 19/1059).[41] One of the objectives was to provide additional protection for the interests of business elites. The colonial administrators were aware that if business elites competed freely in the direct elections, they would receive few votes from the general public. This problem was outlined in a telegram (No. 1973) from Youde to the FCO on 19 December 1983, which is excerpted below.

> The proportion of the population taking part in elections is still small; and many community leaders would not be willing to submit themselves to election outside their social and professional group. Until Hong Kong has gained greater experience and public support for the elective process, direct elections based on universal adult suffrage would be likely to produce distorted representational structures. To ensure that all sectors of society were fairly represented, the constituencies would need to be functionally as well as territorially based… an electoral college of professional and commercial associations had been established to generate members of the Executive and Legislative Councils. (TNA: PREM 19/1059)

This recommendation further highlighted the absence of a transition to democracy in Hong Kong. To justify the monopoly of political power by business elites, democracy was conceptualised by the ruling elites as populism, unfavourable to stability and prosperity (Lu 2009: 70). Various constitutional arrangements were developed to ensure the continued political monopoly of the business elites and block any potential shift in the political system towards genuine democracy.

[41] 'To move immediately to [a] directly elected Legislative Council would not be practical option. The membership of the Legislative Council could however be generated in part through elections by an electoral college of District Board and Regional Council members; and in part through elections from identified functional groups such as industrial associations, the universities, the medical profession, labour boards and so on… Such a process would diffuse political power widely in the community and avoid the risks of manipulation… The dangers of simple direct election to the post of Governor are the same as for the Legislative Council. To survive, the Governor would need to be not only sufficiently independent to give assurance to the people of Hong Kong but also acceptable to Peking as not hostile to their interests' (TNA: PREM 19/1059).

Surprisingly, this reform direction was extremely well received within the British government, as indicated in the following excerpt from an internal government document.

> The Green Paper rightly stresses that the present system of Government in Hong Kong operates on the basis of consultation and consensus and that any developments should aim to maintain this. Thus the proposals in the paper aim to extend political power more deeply into the community, but they also seek to maintain the "corporate" format of the organs of government in Hong Kong in order to reduce wherever possible the opportunities for ambitious individuals on either the right or the left to dominate particular areas of government. (TNA: PREM 19/1265)

The proposed changes in 1984 to the composition of LegCo and ExeCo and the process of selecting council members were basically intended to undermine the power of future Hong Kong leaders after 1997. Before the reform, all ExeCo and LegCo members were appointed by the Governor or by ex-officio members, who were also appointed by the Governor (see Table 6.2). After the reform, the Governor (or Chief Executive after 1997) was to be appointed by the Central People's Government of the PRC by either election or consultation. The Chief Executive would then inevitably obtain full control of the government by appointing pro-Beijing elites to fill all senior government positions. To alleviate this potential threat, the reformers recommended that 24 seats (48%) of LegCo be elected by the electoral college and functional constituencies made up of the following main groups: industrialist organisations, labour organisations, the financial sector, the legal profession, academics (including educators), the medical sector and other professionals (see TNA: PREM 19/1263). This arrangement was believed to offer an effective means of resisting potential interference by the Beijing government. A proposal was also made for 8 of the 14 ExeCo members to be elected by LegCo. Ultimately, only the formation of LegCo was changed; the proposed alteration to the composition of ExeCo was not recommended by the British government.

Table 6.2 Proposed Changes to Formation of LegCo in 1984

LegCo Members	Current	1985	1988
Elected by electoral college	0	6 (12.5%)	12 (24.0%)
Elected by functional constituencies	0	6 (12.5%)	12 (24.0%)
Appointed by Governor	29 (61.7%)	23 (47.9%)	16 (32.0%)
Official members	18 (38.3%)	13 (27.1%)	10 (20.0%)
Total	47	48	50

Source: TNA: PREM 19/1265

In short, similar to their counterparts in Singapore (as discussed in the previous chapter), the British colonial ruling elites in Hong Kong used checks and balances to manipulate local elites and thereby alleviate risks in the transitional period. Indirect elections were implemented and business and professional elites in the electoral college and functional constituencies were empowered to resist the influence of the Chinese government. The political reforms initiated by the British ruling elites during the transitional period accounted for Hong Kong's non-democratic political structure after transition. The last section of this chapter shows that Hong Kong's political system after the handover was still monopolised by business elites.

International Actors

Competition for Sovereignty

There is evidence to suggest that China's leaders were eager to demonstrate China's sovereignty over Hong Kong during talks with Britain in the 1980s. The Chinese government officially stated that any involvement of the Hong Kong people in the negotiation progress was forbidden. In a telegram (No. 416 of 9 May 1983), Percy Cradock, the British ambassador to Beijing, reported that Yao Guang, the Chinese negotiator and Vice-Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, believed that 'the great majority of Hong Kong people were Chinese. Being Chinese, they were clear about

history. There was therefore no question of whether the arrangements would be acceptable to the Hong Kong people or not' (TNA: PREM 19/1055). In another telegraph (No. 1050 of 19 October 1983), Cradock described Yao's insistence on the following.

> China's intended policies towards Hong Kong were part of her internal affairs as a sovereign state. However, because of the friendly relations with the UK and because of British willingness to co-operate over the maintenance of stability and prosperity in Hong Kong, China was willing to brief the UK in advance of a public statement of her intended policies and to listen to her useful opinions and proposals. (TNA: PREM 19/1057)

In other words, the Beijing government did not recognise Britain's authority in Hong Kong, and was determined to resume sovereignty over Hong Kong after the lease on the New Territories had expired. This led to conflict between key actors in the two governments over the sovereignty and administration of Hong Kong after 1997.

The dispute over Hong Kong's sovereignty between the British and Beijing governments was mainly due to their different interpretations of the treaties signed in the mid-19th century. The Chinese government intended to revoke the treaties signed by Britain and the Qing Dynasty government and fully resume sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997. Meanwhile, the British government sought to ensure Hong Kong's stability and prosperity to maximise its own interests in the region by bargaining with China regarding the future administration of Hong Kong. When the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, visited China in September 1982, she conveyed the following message to the Chinese leaders.

> To settle the future of Hong Kong by abrogation [of the treaties in 1842 and 1860] alone would be unthinkable. It would produce immediate panic in Hong Kong. It would be a dereliction of UK responsibility and would be rejected by the British Government and Parliament and by the people of Hong Kong.
>
> But if our two governments could agree [to] define arrangements about the future administration and control of Hong Kong, and I was satisfied that they would work, that they would command confidence and if I could justify them to the British Parliament, and they were acceptable to the people of Hong Kong, there would then be a new situation in which I could consider the question of sovereignty. (TNA: PREM 19/792)

In notes on a meeting with Deng and Zhao sent by telegram (No. 610) to A. E. Donald on 30 September 1982, Cradock suggested that '[a]lthough they are immovable on sovereignty they maybe [sic] ready to make concessions on administration' (TNA: PREM 19/790). He referred here to the British government's notorious proposal to exchange sovereignty for the administration of Hong Kong after 1997. However, Cradock's optimism regarding concessions was ungrounded. Youde reported in a telegram (No. 102 of 21 January 1983) on a Peking visit made by a New Territories group in January 1983. After three meetings with Liao Chengzhi, local elites in Hong Kong learned that 'the talks were at an impasse. This was because Britain insisted in talking about prosperity first while China insisted on talking about sovereignty. The Prime Minister's emphasis on the treaties had made the negotiations difficult' (TNA: PREM 19/1053).

International Bargaining Situation

There is also evidence to show that the British decision makers learned from other Asian leaders, which eventually affected their stance towards China. On 25 March 1983, A. J. Coles, private secretary to the Prime Minister, reported that during a visit to London, Mahathir Mohamad, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, had suggested to Prime Minister Thatcher that 'something would be necessary to save Chinese face' regarding Hong Kong. The author of an internal document government dated 19 March 1983 also stated that both the Singaporean and the Malaysian leaders believed that if the business environment were to be disturbed, they would experience 'a mass exodus of rich Chinese capital from the area, which [would] take their money to the United States and Canada, rather than counties nearest to Hong Kong' (TNA: PREM 19/1054). The British negotiating team had originally adopted a stronger stance to obtain a better deal in the talks. However, this friendly reminder from the Asian leaders softened the Prime Minister's stance in relation to the Peking government (see TNA: PREM 19/1057).

The policy makers also learned from overseas disputes. The territorial disputes over Gibraltar and the Falkland Islands in the 1970s may have influenced British policy towards other dependent territories/colonies. In a letter of 8 August 1973, E. N. Larmour explained that the dispute over Gibraltar and the Falkland Islands 'would affect our position in our territorial disputes with Guatemala over Belize, and with Argentine over the Falkland Islands: it could also affect our position in Hong Kong… Its effect in Hong Kong might be less significant but there could be awkward repercussions there too' (TNA: FCO 40/424). In a letter written to Larmour on 7 August 1973, R. B. Crowson of the Hong Kong and Indian Ocean Department made the following suggestion.

> In the short term, the proposals for Gibraltar might have an adverse effect on Hong Kong's position vis-à-vis China. Recognition of Spanish sovereignty over Gibraltar might encourage the Chinese to press us to accept their view that the whole of Hong Kong was an integral part of China. Equally if not more important, if the Spaniards were allowed to appoint a representative in Gibraltar, this might encourage the Chinese to step up the pressure on us to agree to some form of official Chinese representation in Hong Kong. (TNA: FCO 40/424)

The above empirical data support the claim that the British decision makers considered the international bargaining situation when handling the issue of Hong Kong.

In contrast, the Chinese leaders were clearly more strongly influenced by nationalist concerns when dealing with the Hong Kong problem. In a morning meeting between Margaret Thatcher and Deng Xiaoping in the Great Hall of the People, Beijing on 24 September 1982, Deng emphasised these concerns as follows.

> [I]f in 1997 the People's Republic of China had not recovered Hong Kong the Chinese leaders and the Chinese Government would not be able to account for it to the Chinese people or to the people of the world. If sovereignty were not recovered, it would mean that the new China was like the China of the Ching [Qing] dynasty and the present leaders were like Li Hongzhang [the official representative of the Qing government, who signed the treaty with Britain in 1842]. (TNA: PREM 19/790)

Therefore, the Chinese government was interested solely in regaining sovereignty over Hong Kong; as long as the British government was willing to return the entire

Hong Kong territory (not just the New Territories), the Beijing officials were ready to make certain concessions on social, economic and political arrangements, for example. The British officials believed that the business elites in Hong Kong could be manipulated to resist potential interference from China after the handover.

Chinese Concerns

The Chinese leaders were eager to build up a good mutual relationship with local business elites in Hong Kong. Before the official negotiations, the interests of the business elites were clearly acknowledged by the Chinese officials. On 5 July 1979, the British ambassador asked China about the New Territories lease, and the Beijing government replied on 24 September 1979 as follows, 'recall[ing] the remarks made to the Governor by Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping in March'.

> [H]e said that China regarded Hong Kong as Chinese territory but that when the time came to deal with this question in the future, the Chinese would take account of the special circumstances of Hong Kong and would not harm the interests of the investors. (TNA: PREM 19/789)

This explicit reassurance was given because the Chinese Communist Party had gained a bad reputation for confiscating private assets after gaining power in 1949. Chinese officials repeatedly sought to elicit and retain the trust of Hong Kong capitalists. On 5 January 1982, for example, Vice-Premier Ji Pangfei reassured Humphrey Atkins, Lord Privy Seal, in a meeting in the Great Hall of the People, Beijing that 'China would not take measures such as those taken in the early years of the Revolution, when they had confiscated property. They would not confiscate capitalists' assets in Hong Kong' (TNA: CAB 133/528). In the same meeting, Ji 'assure[d] the UK side that in the future China would preserve the interests of existing industrialists and business circles' (TNA: CAB 133/528).

To further secure the confidence of business elites in Hong Kong, the Chinese authority guaranteed that the status quo would be maintained in Hong Kong after the handover. In his memoirs, Sir S. Y. Chung (2001) recalled that in January 1982, the

Chinese leader told Humphrey Atkins, the British Lord Privy Seal, that the Chinese government 'would in due course talk to various circles in Hong Kong and would preserve the interests of investors in Hong Kong' (p. 39). A government telegram (No. 006 of 27 September 1983) provided an account of a private meeting with the Chinese Foreign Minister, Wu Wueqian, who explained that '[t]o allay the fears of Hong Kong entrepreneurs, Deng has suggested that this arrangement should last for 50 years'. The author of the telegram went on to report that '[w]hatever happened in the talks, China would announce its policies for the future of Hong Kong in September 1984. He [Wu] hoped that this would be a joint statement' (TNA: PREM 19/1057).

The Chinese leaders were concerned about the smooth transition of sovereignty. Once Hong Kong had been returned to China, the former ruling British officials would have to hand over their power and positions to local elites. If this power transfer happened in 1997, it would be quite difficult for local Hong Kong officials to assume government roles and exercise power without jeopardising Hong Kong's stability and prosperity. To avoid this problem, the Chinese authority used various channels to urge the British authority to speed up the process of appointing local elites to senior government positions. In a telegram sent to the FCO on 7 March 1983 (No. 311), Phillip Haddon-Cave, Chief Secretary of Hong Kong, reported on the publication of an article in a pro-Peking newspaper in which the composition of political power in Hong Kong was criticised.

> Wen Wei Po on 3 March published a rather long article reproducing a report by a pressure group, the New Hong Kong Institute, about what it described as a highly uneven distribution of political power in Hong Kong. The report focused on the small number of people holding important posts in public and business life. But did not do well on the racial factor. (TNA: PREM 19/1054)

Meanwhile, Chinese officials disseminated the government's plans for exercising power in Hong Kong after 1997 among various international actors. Donald C. Jamieson of the Canadian Higher Commission sent a letter to Margaret Thatcher on 21 October 1983 to report on a meeting with the Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Wueqian. Wu had described 'the Chinese Government's policy vis-à-vis Hong Kong following 1997' as follows: 'general elections would allow Hong Kong residents to

administer Hong Kong as a "Special administrative region"' (TNA: PREM 19/1057). The principle of 'one country, two systems', the promise of a high degree of autonomy and the emphasis on rule by Hong Kong people required a significant number of Hong Kongese to take up positions in the government. They needed to accumulate hands-on experience before 1997 to implement these ideas. In a telegram sent on 19 April 1983 (No. 536), Youde reported on the media coverage in Hong Kong of the territory's future.

> [T]he Chinese government hoped that Hong Kong Chinese would progressively take over the senior positions within the Hong Kong Government within seven or eight years. Promotion of local Chinese into these posts should begin within two or three years. By 1997 the Chinese flag would have replaced the British flag, and the Governor, the Secretary for Security and the Commander, British forces would have to return to Britain. (TNA: PREM 19/1054)

In short, Hong Kong elites were given the chance to acquire senior government positions during the last decade of the colonial period. This opportunity was particularly favourable for local business elites, the stakeholders most eager to protect their interests by retaining the status quo and guarding against Chinese intervention in Hong Kong society. Therefore, the political reform initiated by Youde in Hong Kong during the transitional period was relatively conservative, to avoid any direct confrontation with the Chinese authority. The negotiation process was lengthy, and each government had its own concerns and agenda regarding the future of Hong Kong. Ultimately, the negotiations simply provided a foundation for the development of a non-democratic form of government after 1997, with the election of the Chief Executive (formerly the Governor) and the members of LegCo and District Boards skewed towards the interests of pro-establishment business elites and patron-client politics (see Kwong 2007).

Promoting Democracy?

It seems that neither the leaders of the British government nor their Chinese counterparts were interested in promoting genuine democracy in Hong Kong. The

Member of Parliament (MP) Robert Adley visited Hong Kong in November 1983 and stressed 'the need for more democracy in Hong Kong' to Geoffrey Howe. In response, P. F. Ricketts of the FCO wrote a letter to A. J. Coles, the Prime Minister's secretary, in which he suggested that Adley's request was 'unrealistic' (TNA: PREM 19/1059).

Political arrangements and the introduction of a representative government were not part of the early agreements between China and Britain. Political arrangements were not addressed until very late in the negotiations. As of 4 April 1984, according to a report drafted by the Hong Kong Department of the FCO, the talks had covered only Hong Kong's legal system, monetary system, public services, external economic relations, civil aviation and shipping, in addition to the rights of individuals in Hong Kong (TNA: PREM 19/1264). In short, constitutional arrangements and an electoral system had not been agreed upon by the two governments. In a secret internal document written on 19 March 1984, Geoffrey Howe quoted Governor Youde's list of 'the problems in moving more quickly to direct elections', as follows.

> (a) The relatively retarded state of Hong Kong's political development. There are still strong Chinese traditions in the community in Hong Kong. Policy formation at the moment is based on consultation and consensus and not on an adversarial party system as in the United Kingdom. It will be easier to maintain stability if a new structure is built progressively on what already exists. (b) The elective system in Hong Kong is in its infancy… (c) Moving too quickly could lead to rapid polarisation of the community and might create a danger of political rivalries, for instance between pro-Taiwan and pro-China elements, with the obvious risks for stability that this would bring. (d) Power must be diffuse to prevent domination and manipulation by any political interest group… [The report also highlighted] We need to take the Chinese attitude into account. Chinese views on democracy in Hong Kong are far from clear. At all events they are highly suspicious that we may try to exploit calls for "democracy" in order to negate in practice their resumption of the right of administration under an agreement. The Chinese would probably thus object to a proposal for direct elections in the immediate future, though they might be prepared to accept some form of indirect elections and greater democratization along the lines proposed by the Governor… Subject to your views, I propose that we approve the Governor's recommendations in principle… We should however follow the line of gradually moving to indirect elections; this will still allow us the possibility of moving to direct elections in the 1990s. (TNA: PREM 19/1263)

The British government was responding to the concerns of both Hong Kong business elites and the Chinese government. A pro-business elite political structure emerged immediately after the publication of the *Green Paper: The Further Development of Representative Government in Hong Kong* by the Hong Kong Governor, Edward Youde, in 1984. The corresponding political reforms determined the direction of future constitutional development and government structure in Hong Kong under the external influence of China. Specifically, the reforms affected Hong Kong's post-1997 state capacity by continuing to ensure the dominance of professional business elites in the electoral college and indirect elections.

Local Elites

Maximising Interests of Business Elites

Business elites in Hong Kong played an important role in transferring messages from the Beijing officials to the British government. In a telegram sent on 19 July 1983 (No. 1031), Edward Youde reported that Allen Lee, an unofficial member of LegCo and leader of the Young Professionals Delegation, held a meeting with Deng during which the latter voiced the concerns of the Beijing government regarding a potential loss of 'face' and urged the British to 'acknowledge China's sovereignty over Hong Kong' (TNA: PREM 19/1056). In 1993, Lee founded and subsequently chaired a political party made up of businessmen and tycoons, named the Liberal Party. This was one of the major pro-Beijing political parties in Hong Kong. Later, in 1997, Lee was appointed as deputy to the National People's Congress. Other business elites in Hong Kong also maintained a good relationship with senior Chinese government officials. A document issued by 10 Downing Street on 28 September 1982 indicated that Sir Y. K. Pao met with Deng prior to a meeting with the Prime Minister. Conveying Deng's message, Pao reported that '[i]t was not Peking's intention to send anyone to govern Hong Kong; instead the Chinese Government intended to appoint a Hong Kong Chinese to the top post. They also intended to put "low level" Hong Kong Chinese into the future Government' (TNA:

PREM 19/790). This reflects China's determination to train up a group of local elites to rule Hong Kong after 1997.

Unsurprisingly, the business elites who maintained a good relationship with China subsequently became Hong Kong's political leaders. In a letter written on 2 February 1983, Robin Butler of 10 Downing Street reported that '[t]he Chinese Government in their propaganda messages to Hong Kong had introduced the theme of "rule by Hong Kong people"… this would have some considerable appeal to certain elements of the Hong Kong Chinese' (TNA: PREM 19/1053).

Meanwhile, business elites in Hong Kong became aware of another potential opportunity to maximise their power. They used various channels to lobby the British government to protect their interests in Hong Kong after 1997. In September 1982, the general public was informed that Margaret Thatcher would make an official visit to Beijing to discuss Hong Kong's future with the leaders of China. There is considerable empirical evidence of the eagerness of Hong Kong's business elites to communicate with the British Prime Minister. For example, Daniel Koo, chairperson of Shui Hing Co., Limited, wrote a letter to Margaret Thatcher on 7 September 1982 to express his concerns about the future of Hong Kong. Koo was also a member of the General Committee of the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce, and Vice-Chairman of the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce of Hong Kong. He made the following suggestion.

> [T]he present British legal system and full British responsibility for the maintenance of law and order should be retained… An agreement which re-establishes Chinese sovereignty over the territory must therefore require the present treaties of tenure to be invalidated… An agreement to replace the present treaties could be negotiated under Article 30 of the revised Chinese constitution which appears to have been worked with such a possibility in mind. (TNA: PREM 19/789)

In his reference to Article 30 of China's Constitution, Koo echoed the proposal made by Chinese leaders to allow Hong Kong to retain political and economic systems distinct from those of mainland China. In short, Koo wished to maintain the existing capitalist system, which was crucial to the activities of local entrepreneurs.

Members of Heung Yee Kuk,[42] a very influential statutory advisory body made up of billionaire indigenous landowners in rural areas of Hong Kong, wrote a letter to Margaret Thatcher on 2 March 1983 to express their views and concerns regarding Hong Kong's future stability and prosperity. After a meeting with Liao Chengzhi, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress, in Beijing on 12 January 1983, the leaders of Heung Yee Kuk believed that if Britain were to 'make an early promise to return the sovereignty over Hong Kong to China, all over problems can be settled through negotiations so long as both China and Britain can be benefited on an equal and mutually beneficial basis' (TNA: PREM 19/1054). Heung Yee Kuk had already established a very good relationship with the Beijing government. Its leaders, such as Lau Wong-fat, held important positions in Hong Kong before and after the handover. Lau Wong-fat was appointed as a member of LegCo in 1985, a member of ExeCo in 2009 and a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CCPCC) in 2003.

In addition, members of the Hong Kong and Kowloon Trade Unions Council wrote a letter to Margaret Thatcher on 14 September 1983 to voice their concerns about Hong Kong's future.

> The majority of them [Hong Kong people] confide that the communist Chinese systems will not suit the Hong Kong society and the public trends. They also hold that the philosophies of "Hong Kong people to rule Hong Kong" and "Rule Hong Kong in its own way" are most in-effective. (TNA: PREM 19/1057)

The letter also expressed the concerns of other business elites. The Hon. Mrs. Saline Chow Liang Shuk-yee, an unofficial member of LegCo, pointed out that 'if Hong Kong on one day flies the communist Chinese regime flag it will be the end of stability and prosperity here-at… Communism and Capitalism are two extremely contrasting and conflicting political systems. Both are unable to co-exist' (TNA: PREM 19/1057). With a political career trajectory similar to that of other business elites in Hong Kong, Chow was appointed as a member of LegCo in 1981, a non-official member of ExeCo in 1991, chairwoman of the Hong Kong Tourism Board in 2002 and a member of CCPCC in 2008.

[42] For the history of Heung Yee Kuk, please refer to Sit and Kwong (2011).

Secret internal documents also captured the activities of other business elites, such as Christine Loh, director of Philipp Brothers and Phibro Energy in the 1980s, who subsequently helmed various think-tanks and political groups. A position paper was submitted by Loh in the capacity of chairperson of the Hong Kong Observers to A. J. Coles, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, on 21 December 1983, when Loh returned to London after visiting Beijing to meet with senior Chinese officials such as Premier Zhao. These meetings were arranged by the New China News Agency. The following suggestion was made in Loh's paper.

> The future government of Hong Kong should be elected by the people of Hong Kong to ensure that it is accountable to the people. The present Hong Kong government is based on a system of appointments. Although many of the individuals have contributed significantly to Hong Kong, they owe their office to the people who appointed them and therefore cannot be consider to be true representatives of the Hong Kong people. (TNA: PREM 19/1059)

This example illustrates that the business elites in Hong Kong maintained a good relationship with both the Beijing government and the British government. Unsurprisingly, Loh was appointed as a member of LegCo in 1992, and became a senior government official, Undersecretary for the Environment, in 2012, in the administration of C.Y. Leung, the third Chief Executive of the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR).

Local business elites also voiced their concerns privately to the British leaders about the introduction of full democracy to Hong Kong. In a meeting between Sir Geoffrey Howe (Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs), the Governor of Hong Kong and ExeCo unofficial members on 13 January 1984 in London, 'Sir Geoffrey Howe raised the question of constitutional development in Hong Kong between now and 1997. He detected a wish in Hong Kong for greater democracy and more representative structures'. Lydia Dunn, an appointed member of ExeCo and LegCo, executive director of John Swire and Sons Limited and director of Swire Pacific Limited, believed that full universal suffrage and direct elections would prove dangerous. She argued that the 'key thing was the caliber of the Governor. The community was not ready and candidates would be hesitant about coming forward.

Any development should be controlled and allowed to evolve step by step' (TNA: PREM 19/1262).

The above examples provide just a few illustrations of the effort made by both Chinese and British government officials to establish and preserve good relationships with local business elites in Hong Kong to maintain stability and prosperity during the transitional period. Indeed, after the handover, business elites' monopoly of tightly knit business-state networks in Hong Kong spread at a furious pace (see Ho et al. 2010; Kwong 2007).

Exclusion of Opposition and Democratic Parties

In response to the demand from opposition and democrats for genuine democracy in Hong Kong, both the British and the Chinese government officials emphasised the need to ensure that the distribution of political power in Hong Kong posed no threat to the interests of the business sector or to the stability and prosperity of Hong Kong. The following excerpt from an internal document indicates that Youde did not anticipate installing a full democracy in Hong Kong, on the grounds that such a system would threaten Hong Kong's stability.

> The Governor believes that it is important not to over-estimate the demand in Hong Kong for direct elections. This demand comes mainly from academics and members of small pressure groups. While there is general support for more representative government, there is also a strong expression of concern, both in the business community and at the grass roots level, that the Hong Kong Government might move too far and too fast and in consequence introduce a factor of instability at this highly sensitive time. (TNA: PREM 19/1265)

Therefore, most of the major stakeholders in Hong Kong were excluded from the talks between Chinese and British representatives. Some pressure groups voiced concerns about this exclusion; for example, Mildred Neville of the Catholic Institute for International Relations wrote to the British Prime Minister as follows.

> We are most concerned that in your forthcoming discussions with the Chinese authorities and the Hong Kong Government, full account should be taken of the rights and reasonable expectations of the people of Hong Kong, whose present situation is, we believe, increasingly invidious to them and difficult for a British government committed to democracy to defend. While we recognise the complexity of the issues involved in deciding the future of Hong Kong, we believe that a solution which visibly excludes consultation with the people most concerned will be seen to be unjust. (TNA: PREM 19/790)

Ultimately, no representatives from Hong Kong were involved in the official talks (see Lu 2009: 45; Patten 1999: 33), which caused a minor disagreement.[43] The exclusion of Hong Kong representatives was explained in a telegram (No. 605 of 29 June 1983) to the FCO in which Cradock reported on a telephone conversation with the Chinese Assistant Minister Zhou Nan as follows: '[t]he Chinese had made it plain the negotiations were bilateral between Britain and China and that there should be a Joint Sino-British Announcement. If there were a separate Hong Kong announcement it would give the impression that Hong Kong was an equal third party' (TNA: PREM 19/1055).

Intriguingly, the negotiation process was almost entirely conducted by senior government officials from China and the United Kingdom; senior government officials in Hong Kong were not even given the security clearance required to access information on the talks (Chung 2001: 30-31, 60-61). Therefore, the British and Beijing ruling elites held almost all of the power to decide Hong Kong's future.

6.3 Post-transitional Period

Once British sovereignty over Hong Kong had been revoked, Hong Kong's political system inherited the non-democratic features developed during the transitional

[43] According to a government telegram (No. 651) on 8 July 1983, Youde's statement to a journalist that he 'was coming to Peking to represent the views of the Hong Kong people' angered Zhou Nan, who refused to issue a visa to Peter Tsao, Director of Information Services of Hong Kong, to travel to China during the second phase of the talks, on the grounds that Tsao 'was not a British official nor was he a member of the British delegation' (TNA: PREM 19/1056).

period. Elite factions competed via various institutional mechanisms, such as functional constituencies and proportional representation by geographical constituency in the legislature and executive-led government. The opposition was largely unable generally lack of any capacity to challenge the power of the business-oriented pro-Beijing ruling elites.

Britain was no longer an influential international actor after the handover – practically by definition, as Hong Kong had become part of China under the principle of 'one country, two systems'. In the mid-1990s, conflict had arisen between the last Hong Kong Governor, Chris Patten, and Beijing officials regarding political reform in Hong Kong. Patten attempted to use democratic policies to counteract Communism, mainly in response to the June Fourth Incident in Beijing in 1989. However, following the transfer of sovereignty from Britain to China in 1997, all debate and disputes had ended, and pre-Patten election methods were restored (see Lu 2009: 69-70, 84-101; Patten 1999: 34-35). Once Hong Kong had become part of China, external actors other than China had no significant influence on the pace and direction of democratic development in Hong Kong.

The business elites who maintained a good relationship with the Beijing government formed a ruling coalition in Hong Kong, monopolising political power and resisting any attempt to change the status quo. The appointment of local elites to government positions during the transitional period intensified the competition between elite factions to secure their own interests. Political power shifted from a pro-British faction to a pro-Beijing faction. The pro-Beijing ruling elites were supported by China's coercive state capacity, such as the Hong Kong-based garrison of China's Liberation Army. The opposition was generally weak and lacked the capacity to infiltrate the government.

State Capacity

A non-democratic political system was installed in Hong Kong in line with an agreement between the British and Chinese governments in 1984. This system involved the indirect election of LegCo members from functional groups dominated by business elites. This electoral practice was maintained from the 1990s onwards, which contributed to the development of a non-democratic polity in Hong Kong. The oppositional forces, i.e. pro-democratic activists, were unable to initiate democratic reforms within Hong Kong's highly pro-business political structure.

After the handover, the political structure in Hong Kong was still heavily influenced by the principle of checks and balances (as discussed in Chapter 4). In the name of maintaining stability and prosperity in Hong Kong, incumbents relied on business elites to preserve the status quo and thereby impede attempts to develop a genuine democracy. This resistance to democratic development was manifested in three main areas: government composition, law making and constitutional changes to political structure.

Table 6.3 shows the changes in the composition of LegCo and the method of selecting its members. This arrangement can be traced back to Youde's proposal for a progressive yet conservative reform of LegCo in the 1980s. The intention to rely on business elites as stabilising forces to deter democratisation is clear from the number of members returned by functional constituencies. These members made up at least 50% of the seats in LegCo, which played a critical role in endorsing government bills. Members elected from functional constituencies (such as accountancy, architecture, surveying and planning, commerce, engineering, finance, Heung Yee Kuk, importation and exportation, industries, insurance, and textile and garment production) were predominantly business elites. These members were elected because most registered voters belonged to corporations and organisations; individuals working in the above professions did not have the right to vote in the elections.

Table 6.3 Composition of LegCo after Handover

Term (year)	400-member selection committee	Members returned by an election committee	Members returned by functional constituencies	Members returned by geographical constituencies through direct elections	Total
Provisional Legislative Council (1996)	60 (100%)	-	-	-	60
First (1998)	-	10 (16.7)	30 (50%)	20 (33.3%)	60
Second (2000)	-	6 (10%)	30 (50%)	24 (40%)	60
Third (2004)	-	-	30 (50%)	30 (50%)	60
Fourth (2008)	-	-	30 (50%)	30 (50%)	60
Fifth (2012)	-	-	35 (50%)	35 (50%)	70
Sixth (2016)	-	-	35 (50%)	35 (50%)	70

Source: Basic Law (2015), Annex II; Legislative Council of the HKSAR government (2015)

As a result, the voting habits of LegCo's elected members were always pro-establishment and in line with government policy. The members returned by geographical constituencies through direct elections were the only democratic element of the election process. Hong Kong's elections utterly failed to meet the criteria for competitive democracy. In addition, the election process was constrained by the use of proportional representation to elect LegCo members from geographical constituencies, according to the Basic Law (2015). In other words, the seats were scattered among various political parties, including pro-Beijing parties. This arrangement ensured that at least 50% of LegCo members were affiliated with the pro-establishment camp. As a result, it was impossible for the opposition either to become the ruling party or to effectively monitor the government by constitutional means.

Some additional legal provisions were made in the Basic Law to ensure that business elites were able to resist the demands of the opposition, i.e. democrats. In a document entitled 'Procedures for Voting on Bills and Motions in the Legislative Council', under the Basic Law (2015) Annex II, the following stipulation was made.

> The passage of bills introduced by the government shall require at least a simple majority vote of the members of the Legislative Council present. The passage of motions, bills or amendments to government bills introduced by individual members of the Legislative Council shall require a simple majority vote of each of the two groups of members present: members returned by functional constituencies and those returned by geographical constituencies through direct elections and by the Election Committee.

In addition, several provisions were made in the Basic Law to prevent any drastic changes to the pro-business elite political structure in post-1997 Hong Kong. According to Annex II, Clause 3 of the Basic Law (2015), 'amendments must be made with the endorsement of a two-thirds majority of all the members of the Council and the consent of the Chief Executive'. Therefore, the oppositional forces, i.e. democrats, were largely prevented from initiating democratic reform via constitutional means, as any changes to the political structure threatened to compromise the socio-economic and political power of the business elites. The incumbents in Hong Kong and China effectively monopolised political power in Hong Kong with the help of local business elites.

International Actors

After the handover, the international bargaining situation changed dramatically. The United Kingdom no longer played an important role in shaping Hong Kong's political system. Under the Sino-British Joint Declaration, the British government had no statutory power to monitor the post-handover Hong Kong. The Basic Law drafted and promulgated by the Chinese government in 1990[44] became Hong Kong's 'mini-constitution'. Under Article 13 of the Basic Law, the Central People's Government of the PRC was responsible for the foreign affairs of the HKSAR. Along with the principle of 'one country, two systems' (Article 5), this institutional arrangement signifies that

[44] The Chinese government took 4 years and 8 months to draft the Basic Law. The drafting committee consisted of 36 members from mainland China and 23 members from Hong Kong. For details of the drafting process, see Lu's (2009: 64-68) memoirs.

any conflict between the Hong Kong and Beijing governments is a matter of internal affairs. Therefore, since the handover, no international actors have been able to significantly influence the political situation in Hong Kong.

Local Elites

As discussed in the previous section, both the British government and the Beijing government were deeply committed to promoting business elites to stabilise post-transitional Hong Kong society. The development of constitutional arrangements in Hong Kong was based on indirect elections and the importance of business elites in formulating functional groups for the selection of LegCo and Chief Executive after 1997. After 1997, elites from the business sector took the opportunity to acquire power and exercise their influence within the government to advocate a conservative polity prioritising the interests of business elites.

The above political arrangements helped the ruling elites in post-transitional Hong Kong to exercise their power effectively. After the handover, LegCo was merely responsible for endorsing bills initiated by the HKSAR government. Ironically, only one private members' bill gained the support of LegCo members returned by both functional and geographical constituencies.[45] Apart from this isolated case in 2006, individual members' bills initiated by geographical constituencies were banned by functional constituencies and vice versa. Along with the strategies used by business elites to monopolise the LegCo and the ExeCo, as discussed in Chapter 4, Hong Kong's new constitutional framework almost entirely prevented opposition forces from pursuing genuine democratic reform.

The opposition generally lacked the capacity to challenge the system. Article 14 of the Basic Law stipulated that the Central People's Government was responsible for defending Hong Kong. Lu (2009: 63) recalled Deng's argument that stationing a

[45] The Smoking (Public Health) (Amendment) Bill proposed by Dr Leong Che Hung (representing the Medical Functional Constituency).

garrison of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in Hong Kong was vital to stabilise society. In other words, coercive state capacity was dominated by the ruling elites and the opposition was only able to use institutionalised channels to advocate changes to the political system.

Finally, there was even competition between pro-Beijing elite factions in Hong Kong's post-transitional society. Under the framework of 'one country, two systems', the Beijing government was not permitted to actively intervene in Hong Kong politics.[46] Members of local elite factions were thus obliged to demonstrate their loyalty to the Chinese government to join the circle of ruling elites. Unsurprisingly, competition was not only restricted to ruling elites versus opposition elites; direct competition occurred between elites from indigenous factions, former pro-Communist workers' associations and political parties with a pro-establishment platform in LegCo elections. The individual pro-Beijing elites C. Y. Leung and Henry Tang competed during the Chief Executive Election in 2012, and several pro-Beijing political groups – the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong, the Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions and the New People's Party – competed in the 2016 LegCo election by geographical constituency (see Case 2008; Wong 2014; Wong 2015).

In sum, the Chinese government inherited the strategies used by former British ruling elites to manipulate business elites for political ends. The post-transition predominance of pro-Beijing business elites was responsible for the failure to establish a democratic political structure in Hong Kong.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that a conflict of interests between external actors led to the monopoly of political power by local business elites in post-transitional Hong Kong.

[46] Based on evidence gathered during my informal meetings from 2013 to 2015 with various senior Chinese government officials affiliated with the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office of the State Council and the Liaison Office of the Central People's Government of the HKSAR.

Like Singapore, Hong Kong is a disputed territory. During decolonisation and the transfer of sovereignty from Britain to China, the pace and direction of democratisation were mainly determined by negotiation between ruling elites from China and the United Kingdom. In advance of the expiry of the lease on the New Territories, negotiations were held from 1982 to 1984 to discuss the future of Hong Kong. These negotiations were significantly influenced by the international bargaining situation, which was in turn affected by numerous historical developments, such as the Chinese Civil War, the Vietnam War, China's Cultural Revolution, Cold War sentiment and decolonisation. The major actors in the negotiation process sought to preserve their own interests in the process of transition.

Empirical data suggest that the Chinese ruling elites sought to resume sovereignty over Hong Kong with the framework of 'one country, two systems'. This allowed Hong Kong to retain political, economic, social and judicial systems distinct from those of China. In contrast, the British ruling elites sought to maintain the economic stability and prosperity of Hong Kong to uphold the interests of British investors. In terms of political interests, the British decision makers wished to prevent Communist China from intervening directly in Hong Kong's affairs after the handover. Therefore, a non-democratic political structure was developed by the British ruling elites during the transitional period in the 1980s to empower pro-establishment business elites. The resulting institutional arrangements, such as indirect elections and functional constituencies made up of professional groups, were fully inherited and advanced by the Chinese government after the handover.

The above political structure has prevented opposition forces from challenging the dominance of ruling elites in Hong Kong's post-transitional society. They also lack the capacity to amend or challenge the current political system due to interlocking mechanisms imposed in the Basic Law, and military power is firmly controlled by the Central People's Government of the PRC. Under the current institutional arrangements, Hong Kong is expected to remain a deviant autocracy for the foreseeable future.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Introduction

The recent challenges from the opposition in Singapore and Hong Kong against the ruling elites demonstrate that the study of deviant autocracies is relevant to both scholars of democratisation and democratic practitioners. Not only the start of the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong, but also the result of the latest 2016 Legislative Council election indeed surprised the Chinese ruling elites as well as the local democrats. The extremists who embrace the idea of self-determination or independence of Hong Kong attained a surprising and ground-breaking victory for six seats in the Legislative Council with 15.5% or 280,000 support of the voters to replace the moderate democrats (Legislative Council Election 2016). In view of this latest development, this thesis can shed light on the emergent as well as the consolidation of deviant autocracies through the lens of neo actor-based analysis. The fragmentation of elite interests apparently is not only restricted to the competition of ruling elites versus opposition, but also competition within the opposition clearly played a role. The fragmentation of the opposition dispersed its power. As a consequence the power of the autocratic ruling elites in Hong Kong can then further be consolidated. Not only Hong Kong, but also Singapore can still be classified as deviant autocracies.

Deviant autocracies are an understudied area. The literature review in Chapter 2 discussed the development of studies on democratisation, including democratic consolidation, transitions to democracy, hybrid regimes, deviant democracies and the persistency of autocracies. This overview showed that understanding deviant autocracies has not yet received much attention. The aim of this thesis was to explain and understand deviant autocracies. To serve this purpose, Chapter 3 demonstrated the existence of deviant autocracies and mapped them using the latest empirical data. This part was based on large-N cross national statistical analyses. The emergence of deviant autocracies in the 1970s is an empirical puzzle for scholars of democratisation,

and specifically for the proponents of structural explanations. I argued that the development of a neo actor-based approach can help us to understand the selected outliers, Hong Kong and Singapore. This part of the study moved from quantitative to qualitative analyses. I conducted in-depth archival research of two cases, applying the process- tracing method.

A new analytical framework, neo actor-based analysis, was developed in Chapter 4 to analyse the interactions between state capacity, international actors and local elites. The analytical framework was applied in the case of Singapore (Chapter 5) and Hong Kong (Chapter 6) to account for the absence of transition to democracy during the transitional period, and showed how different ruling elites contributed to the persistency of autocratic political structures in the post-transitional period. In view of the influence of international actors, the identified outliers are all former colonies of European powers and involved disputes during the process of decolonisation. This process involved various international actors during the transitional period together with international or regional events that shaped the international bargaining situation. The local elites then competed with each other to secure their interests in the process. The pro-establishment and interest-oriented business elites, in particular, were empowered by the colonial ruling elites to protect their interests after independence or the transfer of sovereignty. Hence, the ruling elites, mainly the business and professional elites, were able to dominate the state power in the post-transitional period. They relied on their coercive capacity to provide institutional means to legitimate the exercise of authority, and opposition could hardly challenge the status quo within the political framework. In addition, as discussed in Chapter 4, the ruling elites in the post-transitional period also relied on sustaining a high level of economic development, delivering public goods, reinforcing patron-client and reciprocal relationships to solidify their control in authoritarian regimes and legitimising their authority. These measures can be used to effectively resist demands for democratisation and enhance the durability of the autocratic regime (also see Bellows 1967; Case 1996, 2005 and 2009; Chan and Kwok 1999; Croissant 2014; Chua 1995, 2000 and 2010; Chua and Tan 1999; George 2000 and 2007; Hewison 1999a;

Khan 2005; Kuan 1991; Kwong 2007; Ortmann 2014a; Overholt 2001; Rao and Wang 2007; Rodan and Jayasuriya 2009; So 2000; Thompson 2012).

My thesis is opening up a new research agenda in the studies of democratisation, namely the study of deviant autocracies. This thesis also developed an analytical tool to examine the dynamics of international actors, local elites and state capacity to understand the rationale behind various major political elites, both internally and externally during the decision making process. This analytical tool can help us to explain the absence of democratic transition in cases classified as deviant autocracies. At the empirical level, this thesis contributes to our empirical knowledge of the cases of Hong Kong and Singapore with the declassified government documents via archival research.

To conclude this thesis, this chapter is divided into four sections. First, I will summarise the major empirical findings from a comparative perspective, highlighting the findings of both large-N and small-N analyses. In the second section, I present the contributions of this thesis in four domains: theoretical, analytical, methodological and empirical. In the third section I discuss the potential limitations of the study and how to alleviate the problems. In the last part I highlight the agenda for future research in the area of deviant autocracies.

7.1 Empirical Findings from a Comparative Perspective

This thesis aimed to detect deviant autocracies. The large-N analysis in Chapter 3 served two major purposes. The first was to replicate the major structural explanations in studying the transition to democracy. A significant body of literature has replicated the argument of the structural explanation, i.e. the positive effect of economic development on the transition to democracy. However, caution should be exercised in interpreting the findings in the literature, because previous studies used data sets that excluded most of the deviant autocracies identified in this thesis. In other words, they omitted the effect of deviant autocracies when explaining

democratisation. The results of this study, based on a data set covering 167 countries from 1960 to 2011, suggest that economic development still has a significant positive relationship with and is the most important predicator of the level of democracy. The second major empirical finding is that the number of cases categorised as deviant autocracies increased dramatically from three to eight cases by 1970. Even with the waves of democratisation among Southern European and Latin American countries in the 1980s (see Doorenspleet 2000; Huntington 1991), the total number of deviant autocracies has not diminished since the 1980s. By 2010, the number of outliers had increased to 11 cases, including Bahrain, Brunei, Equatorial Guinea, Hong Kong, Kuwait, Macau, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore and the United Arab Emirates.

From a theoretical perspective, identifying the deviant autocracies is beneficial for scholars to re-examine the major tenets of structural explanations. The following section summarises the major findings derived from the small-N analysis.

International Actors

The study of both the case of Singapore and the case of Hong Kong showed that the transitional period of decolonisation, together with disputes between various international actors combined with the Cold War situation, contributed to the emergence of deviant autocracies. The disputed transition dragged different international actors into the troubled waters. The international bargaining context affected the decision of the international actors during the transitional period and empowered the autocratic ruling elites.

In both cases, the emergence of deviant autocracies was related to the troubled international situation due to the Cold War mentality and the precipitating threat of communist infiltration by the former ruling elites during the transitional period. The examined cases were subject to communist insurgence activities during the transitional period. In Hong Kong, especially in the 1960s, the leftist movement backed by the CCP in China significantly divided the society into pro-communist and pro-nationalist groups, which after the handover became pro-Beijing and pro-

democratic fractions. Hong Kong has a long history of communist activities, such as the existence of the renowned communist-controlled newspaper, Wen Hui Po, since 1948. Various leftist labour unions, such as the Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions, actively escalated the anti-colonial riots in 1967. Consequently, in the negotiation with the Chinese government, the British ruling elites were eager to recruit and manipulate the pro-establishment business elites to fill important positions for post-handover Hong Kong to resist communisation. In contrast, the Beijing ruling elites strived to build social networks and reciprocal relationships with the local elites who had business links with mainland China to counteract the pro-British and pro-democracy forces. Those local elites became the backbone of the ruling elites in the post-transitional society. In the same vein, Singapore in the 1950s was also fused by the danger of communist infiltration of the Chinese community via the Chinese schools and trade unions of the CCP in China and the MCP in Malaya. Under the menace of communism, the former colonial ruling elites had to ensure the post-transitional society was free from the control of communist or potential pro-communist elites. As a result, the business elites in Hong Kong took the opportunity to dominate the political powers due to the mistrust between the Chinese and British governments in the negotiation over the future of Hong Kong. Similarly, the local elites and the leader of the PAP in Singapore re-packaged themselves as anti-communist fighters in the transitional period, which enabled them to dominate the political powers of Singapore for half a century.

Local Elites

The business and professional elites were empowered during the transitional period. Singapore and Hong Kong had both been trading hubs for the colonial rulers since the nineteenth century. The British colonies in the Asia Pacific region, especially Hong Kong and Singapore, served various political, military and economic interests for the coloniser and the entire British colonial system. The transitional period involved the decision makers in settling the issues related to the transfer of sovereignty of the

colonies. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the business elites in Singapore were empowered by the British ruling elites as early as the 1940s, immediately after the process of de-colonisation began. The local elites were absorbed by the colonial rulers through co-optation. The local business elites were appointed by the Governor of Singapore to take up important positions in the government, such as membership of the Legislative Council, to ensure that the implemented policies would not pose any threat to British interests. During the transitional period, especially after the Rendel Constitution, the competition for power intensified between different elite fractions. The other group of professional elites, the PAP, rose to power after the 1959 election. The leader of the PAP was pragmatic, emphasising the survival of the nation and economic development. Since then, the PAP government has imposed various measures to limit individual freedom and political rights in the name of national interests to further consolidate the autocratic regime (see Chapter 5).

Hong Kong's pro-establishment business elites gained power due to various events in the region. The difference between the socio-economic and political systems of mainland China and British Hong Kong meant that Hong Kong inevitably became a shelter for refugees from China when there was internal turmoil and political instability, especially during the period of confrontation between the Chinese Nationalist Party and the Chinese Community Party in the 1940s and the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and 70s. Hence, Hong Kong was regarded as a borrowed place, living on borrowed time (see Hughes 1976). Significant numbers of refugees fled to Hong Kong, including the business elites, who made a significant contribution to the city's rapid economic growth (Lau and Liu 1984: 176; Young 1992: 25).

Chapter 6 discussed how the Hong Kong ruling elites in the 1970s were eager to promote the economy to increase the bargaining power with the Chinese government regarding the future of Hong Kong. The migrant business elites and their decedents eventually become important stakeholders in promoting and maintaining the economy of Hong Kong. Their prime concern was retaining the status quo and avoiding any major changes that may jeopardise their vested interests. These business elites eventually became targets for both British and Chinese ruling elites to empower and counteract each other in safeguarding British and Chinese interests. They became

a significant pro-establishment force, resisting any attempt to democratise the political structure. Eventually, the ruling elites in Britain and China empowered the business elites with various institutional arrangements, to resist any drastic changes in Hong Kong after the return of sovereignty to China. Those arrangements basically reinforced the non-democratic nature of Hong Kong's political system.

The unprecedented economic growth and empowerment of the business and professional elites during the decolonisation and transitional period contributed to the domination of the elites in the political arena and reinforced the existence of deviant autocracies in Singapore and Hong Kong. Those elites played a critical role in hindering the democratic development of both cases.

The empowered business and professional elites are the opposite of critical democrats (see Blaug 2002; Qi and Shin 2011). The self-interested elites with significant political power that could impede democratisation and reinforce authoritarian governance to protect and safeguard their economic and political interests were the major reason for the emergence and consolidation of deviant autocracies. The empowerment of the pro-establishment elite was the result of the interaction between international actors influenced by the international bargaining situation.

On the one hand, the business elites were opportunists who fully understood that the process of decolonisation after the Second World War would inevitably involve a power transition from colonial elites to local elites. An increasing number of elites, mainly Western educated, were appointed to take up senior government positions, for instance as members of the Legislative Council and Executive Council, providing an opportunity for them to become important stakeholders in the process of transition. On the other hand, the empowered local elites were skilful enough to present themselves as loyal and reliable to the colonial rulers and gained the trust of the colonial ruling elites. They gave the impression that they could safeguard British interests after the transition and independence. More importantly, it was believed that the resultant system would be immune to communism under the leadership of pro-establishment local elites.

State Capacity

In terms of state capacity, the autocratic ruling elites made use of the institutional arrangement to dominate political power. In both cases, the constitution stipulated various measures to ensure the power of the ruling elites. Prior to the transitional period, the colonial political structure heavily relied on the co-optation of the business elites to ensure political stability and the prosperity of society. The business elites' interests were represented in the non-democratic government institutions. As discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, the colonial ruling elites appointed the business elites to take up important positions inside the government. During the transitional period, there were different levels of competition for interests among the international actors and local elites, influenced by the international bargaining situation. The British ruling elites in the process of decolonisation and transfer of sovereignty intentionally transferred the state power to the interest-oriented business elites who were perceived as being able to uphold British interests in the post-transitional society. Hence, the state apparatus was fully controlled by the PAP and pro-establishment business and professional elites in Singapore and Hong Kong, respectively.

With their coercive power, the ruling elites in a post-transitional society can make use of legitimation, repression and co-optation to stabilise the autocratic regime. The small-N analyses in Chapters 5 and 6 showed that legitimation could be attained with gerrymandered electoral law, with 'elections' skewed towards the interests of the ruling elites. The opposition had no choice but to follow the rules set by the ruling elites, as they could hardly take power within the existing institutional arrangement. Repressive measures were also adopted to control society. In the case of Singapore, in particular, the Internal Security Act, the Preservation of Public Security Ordinance and the Societies Ordinance effectively deterred the opposition from challenging the authority of the PAP and its leaders. Similar measures in Hong Kong, such as the Public Order Ordinance, were reinforced to discourage any attempts to change the status quo. Both cases also suggest that the ruling elites also used co-optation to absorb elites into the government. This further reinforced the patron-client relationships (see Chapter 4) and ensured the interests of the ruling elites and those who were closely

linked with the ruling cycle. In short, the state power enabled the ruling elites to rule out any institutional means of introducing genuine democracy. In the absence of a transition to democracy, the autocratic regime became relatively stable.

In short, the result of the small-N analyses suggests that examine the interactions of international actors, local elites and state capacity can enable us to explain and understand the deviant autocracies. Those factors are essential for one to understand other deviant autocracies in future, as they had also experienced similar international bargaining context, such as disputed decolonisation process and Cold War situation. Internally, the empowered ruling elites also strived to manipulate the state power to secure their interests. To avoid the danger of overgeneralisation, this thesis has no intention to generalise the findings to the 'normal' autocracies. The major difference between deviant autocracies and 'normal' autocracies lies in the independent explanatory factor, levels of economic development. For countries with low levels of development and low levels of democracy, the existing literature on persistency of autocracy discussed in Chapter 2 has already provided detailed descriptions of the theories, explanations and empirical evidence from previous studies.

7.2 Contributions of My Thesis

This thesis contributed to the theoretical discussion in the following ways. The first contribution is the opening up of a new research agenda for scholars concerning the transition, and the absence of transition, to democracy. An increasing number of scholars are calling for a systemic way of investigating deviant autocracies (see Doorenspleet 2012: 202; Seeberg 2014: 684). The quantitative data presented in Chapter 3 indeed supported the claim that the number of deviant autocracies has increased in recent decades. Nevertheless, the literature shows that structural explanations are still robust when explaining and predicting democratic transition and consolidation in comparative perspective. In addition, previous quantitative inquiries

have ignored the outliers in the data collection and analysis procedures. A more systematic way to study deviant autocracies is essential and necessary to understand and explain why they go against the odds. Given the paucity of studies on deviant cases of democratisation, especially deviant autocracies, this thesis contributes to the field by identifying an empirical puzzle and mapping the outliers with up-to-date, quantitative, cross-sectional data. To understand deviant autocracies, two small-N case studies on Hong Kong and Singapore were conducted based on the de-classified internal government archive documents to elucidate the decision-making elites and interactions between different local elites that contributed to the emergence of autocratic political structures.

Another theoretical contribution of this study is to recognise and conceptualise the term deviant autocracies in the field of democratisation and autocracy. The idea of deviant autocracies refers to outliers that have a high level of economic development but a non-democratic political structure. Based on the findings, I argued that deviant autocracies can be understood at two levels. The first level is more of an operational level. As illustrated in Chapter 3, the existing cross-country dataset lacks quantifiable data on the identified deviant cases for direct comparisons. Consequently, previous quantitative analyses have largely failed to consider deviant autocracies, which is why this empirical puzzle of the emergence of deviant autocracies still remains largely intact in the literature. The second level is conceptual: the term deviant autocracies used here is different from the current categorisation of autocratic typologies (see Cheibub et al. 2010; Geddes 1999; Hadenius and Teorell 2007; Kailitz 2013, Wahman, Teorell and Hadenius 2013). Instead of adding a new typology to the current classification of autocracies, this thesis highlights a new research domain for further research projects. The existence of deviant autocracies is very different from our current understanding of typical, structurally driven democratisation. Basically, economic development is commonly regarded as a catalyst for democratisation and professional elites are often perceived as the backbone supporting democratic movement. Examination of the socio-economic situation of the identified cases reveals that they all possess a high level of economic development with a significant proportion of highly educated people. According to the existing

structural explanations, these deviant autocracies should already have become democratic. Hence, the existence of these outliers should be considered seriously in future research projects on democratisation.

In terms of the analytical contribution, with the increasing number of deviant autocracies, as illustrated in Chapter 3, an analytical tool is needed for researchers seeking to explain and understand those outliers. This thesis developed a neo actor-based analysis to analyse two selected deviant autocracies, Singapore and Hong Kong, to investigate the concerns of the ruling elites in the decision-making process and how they may have affected the likelihood of transition to democracy. To better understand the elite decision-making process, Chapter 4 relied on the existing actor-based approach together with the additional lens of elite theory, a model of the elite bargaining process and elite-structure paradigms to formulate a new analytical tool to examine the deviant autocracies during the transitional period. The specific focus on the transitional period is important in understanding the rise of deviant autocracies, because this period is normally associated with many structural and societal changes. Examining the process of change enables us to understand the rationale behind various major political elites, both internally and externally, during the decision-making process. International actors and their interactions with the local elites are crucial in determining the direction of a country's post-transitional political structure, whether moving towards democracy or authoritarianism. This tool is potentially useful for researchers to analyse other deviant autocracies in the future.

Another contribution of this study is the research methodology, which involved the triangulation of quantitative and qualitative methods to map out and analyse the deviant autocracies. In Chapter 3, a large-N quantitative analysis was used to identify the deviant autocracies. The data indicate that the number of outliers has increased in recent decades, especially cases that go against the prediction of the structural explanations. To explain this empirical puzzle, Chapters 5 and 6 used a small-N qualitative method with a neo actor-based analysis, using archival data to trace how the autocratic ruling elites managed to secure political power in Singapore and Hong Kong. The application of a neo actor-based analysis made it possible to scrutinise how the different actors contributed to the emergence of autocratic regimes among the

deviant autocracies. Historically, scholars supporting the structural approach and actor-based approach rarely communicated with each other (Doorenspleet 2005: 78). Quantitative analyses were generally conducted at a broader level to identify the possible factors that may explain democratic transitions, while qualitative approaches mainly focused on in-depth analyses of single case studies. The application of mixed methods is beneficial for scholars concerned about the transition to democracy and its absence. The use of triangulation in this study made it possible to detect and verify the empirical puzzle in Chapter 3 and closely examine the selected outliers. This study has taken the initial step in mapping and studying deviant autocracies.

This thesis also made an empirical contribution. The use of the latest de-classified archival data to study the cases in Chapters 5 and 6 can enhance our understanding of deviant autocracies. As discussed in Chapter 4, the application of archival research to analyse deviant autocracies can provide a meticulous lens to understand the obstacles hampering democratic development during the transitional period. The archival data used in Chapters 5 and 6 for the cases of Singapore and Hong Kong are from the National Archive stored in London, United Kingdom. The archive provides valuable data covering Hong Kong's transitional period during the negotiations between the British and Chinese governments about its future in the 1980s. In the case of Singapore, the archive data also provide a comprehensive account of the discussion among the major decision making elites about the distribution of political power prior to de-colonisation during the 1950s and 60s and after it became an independent sovereign state in 1965.

In general, the archive data have merely been used by historians to describe and understand specific political events, whereas this thesis used this important source of data to engage with the literature on democratisation and explain the empirical puzzle of the emergence of deviant autocracies. Furthermore, the data used in the case of Hong Kong (Chapter 6) have only recently been de-classified by the British government. The talks between Britain and China were conducted in the early 1980s. The British government's 30-year rule stipulated in the Public Records Act 1958 means that documents are only available to the public 30 years after their creation. The data used in Chapter 6 have recently been made available to the public and have

not yet been systemically analysed by researchers to explain democratic non-transitions.

More importantly, archival research can provide valuable data for studying deviant autocracies in future. The identified deviant cases, such as Bahrain, Brunei, Hong Kong, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore and the United Arab Emirates were former British colonies or protectorates. Analysis of the British internally de-classified documents offers an important insider's account to facilitate understanding of the decision-making process among the ruling elites. It may offer clues for understanding the absence of transition to democracy among the deviant autocracies.

In the process of identifying the deviant autocracies, this thesis involved a rigorous procedure of handling the missing data for large-N analyses in explaining democratic transitions and non-transitions. As discussed in Chapter 3, existing large-N studies on structural explanations overlooked the outliers, especially deviant autocracies, and thus failed to include those cases in their analyses. More importantly, the existing cross-country data also ignored deviant autocracies, and thus failed to provide comparable data for quantitative statistical analysis. For example, the Polity dataset (Marshall et al. 2011) did not cover cases such as Hong Kong, Macau and Brunei. To complete the data set, a detailed data mining and coding process was conducted with reference to the Polity coding procedure to ensure the reliability and validity of the data (see Chapter 3). This procedure could provide valuable empirical data for quantitative analyses to detect deviant autocracies.

7.3 Research Limitations

With regard to research limitations, the first is related to the measurement of democracy and autocracy. This thesis relied on the existing Polity scores and adopted the minimalist definition of democracy. There are pros and cons to using this measurement. As discussed in Chapter 2, various databases are used to measure levels of democracy. However, they are all subject to either limited coverage or

restricted usage; they cannot be used to replicate the findings of structural explanations or to map out deviant autocracies. In general, Polity scores may not be very accurate for measuring consolidated democracies, but are no doubt useful and accurate indicators for detecting deviant autocracies when cross-checked with the political structure and electoral laws of the identified deviant autocracies. Without question, such cases fail to fulfil the criteria of a minimalist definition of a democracy. More importantly, many studies support the claim that Singapore and Hong Kong are non-democratic or autocratic (see Chan and Kwok 1999; George 2007; Kuan and Lau 2002; Lau and Kuan 2000; Marshall et al. 2011; Mauzy and Milne 2002; Means 1996; Møller and Skanning 2013b; Reilly 2013; Rodan 2003; Rodan and Jayasuriya 2009; Roy 1994; Sing 1996, 2004; Slater 2012).

Another potential limitation is the generalisability of the analytical framework and small-N analysis findings. The deviant case studies in Chapters 5 and 6 show that the Cold War situation and decolonisation intensified the conflicts between various international actors and local elites. The business elites were empowered during the transitional period to protect the interests of the international actors in the post-transitional society. Did these highly contingent events only happen in the selected cases? To what extent can the findings be generalised to other deviant autocracies? With reference to the deviant autocracies detected in Chapter 3, all of the cases had two historical elements in common: they were colonised by European powers and disputes over their decolonisation or transfer of sovereignty were fused with post Second World War anti-communist sentiment. These highly continental historical events also coincidently occurred in the context of other deviant autocracies. Hence, a neo actor-based analysis can also be used to analyse the interactions between state capacity, international actors and local elites to explain and understand other deviant autocracies.

The last concern is related to the data collection method. The small-N analysis was heavily based on archive materials to process trace how the deviant autocracies emerged. One may question how the motivation of elites can be revealed without direct interaction with them. There are two perspectives to consider when addressing this issue. From a methodological point of view, the process tracing method together

with archive research is an ideal combination for studying and identifying the motivates of the actors (see Chapters 1 and 4). On a practical level, in-depth interviews cannot be conducted with the major decision makers from the 1950s and 1960s in the case of Singapore or the 1980s in the case of Hong Kong, because most of the important actors have passed away, including Lee Kuan Yew, Margaret Thatcher, Deng Xiaoping and Sir Edward Youde, to name a few. Hence, we can only rely on the official government records and memoirs of the elites to defragment and distinguish their viewpoints.

Another issue is how to evaluate China's interests in the case of Hong Kong. As it was one of the major international actors, information about China's interests largely comes from the internal British government archive documents. As discussed in Chapter 6, the archive documents in China are restricted. Accessing the materials involves sophisticated administrative procedures and censorship. The disclosed materials are on non-sensitive topics and only available to local Chinese people with a valid identity card and reference letter or endorsement from the relevant Chinese government department. The Archives Law of the People's Republic of China was only ratified in 1987, so the materials in the State Archives Administration of the People's Republic of China are not ideal for analysing the situation in the 1970s and early 1980s during the transitional period of Hong Kong. In contrast, the documents from the National Archives in London provide a very detailed description of the meetings between British and Chinese officials. The official records include the minutes of official meetings and reports of unofficial meetings, such as banquets between officials. These documents precisely capture all of the details of the events, including the dialogues, the meeting venues and their decoration, trip schedules, personal biographies of the actors, non-verbal gestures, etc. They accurately reflect how the Chinese officials responded during the negotiations. To avoid the bias of solely relying on British documents to reflect Chinese interests in the issue of Hong Kong, I cross-checked with other sources and materials to ensure the reliability and accuracy of the reports and minutes. I examined the memoirs of the Chinese government officials, including Lu Ping (2009), Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China from 1978 to 1997, and Sir Sze-yuen Chung (2001),

Senior Chinese Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council from 1974 to 1978 and Senior Chinese Unofficial Member of the Executive Council from 1980 to 1988, which confirmed that the British archive documents accurately reported the ideas and stance of the Chinese government officials during the meetings.

7.4 What Next? Directions for Future Research

The middle class politics in the deviant autocracies posit an interesting direction for the future research. Middle class actors are often perceived as the backbone for supporting democratic movements (see Lipset et al. 1993; Lipset 1994; Moore 1966). But in the cases of Singapore and Hong Kong, the highly educated professional and business ruling elites served as reactionary force at point of decolonisation and tend to promote a stable autocracy rather than democracy in the post-transitional society. On the contrary, in view of the recent challenges from the opposition, such as the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong and victory of the Workers' Party in Singapore suggested that the new middle class actors seem to demand for democratisation. In future research, it will be interesting to investigate the intensification of elite competitions between the conservation elites, traditional and new oppositional forces, and its effect on persistency of deviant autocracies.

Future research could apply the neo actor-based approach to study other deviant autocracies. This thesis conducted two small-N analyses to process trace how Singapore and Hong Kong became deviant autocracies in the first place. The analytical framework also highlighted the importance of interaction between state capacity, international actors and local elites during the transitional period. It will be theoretically beneficial to study all of the outliers systematically. Eleven deviant autocracies were detected in Chapter 3; using the analytical approach proposed in this thesis to study those cases would further enhance the generalisability and explanatory power of the model. More importantly, it would improve our understanding of the

absence of transition among the high-income countries, which is an understudied area in the study of democratisation and autocracy.

Another direction for future research is to develop a new theory to conceptualise and draw inferences on the issues concerning deviant autocracies. The analytical approach developed in this thesis is a middle-range theory, and there are still many unanswered questions. As a new sub-field in the study of autocracy, how does it differ from the existing theoretical explanations of hybrid and autocratic regimes? How are failed transitions to democracy different from other kinds of autocracies? The development of a new theoretical model can be developed with reference to the emergence of deviant autocracies would make a significant contribution to our knowledge.

Finally, future research on deviant autocracies can derive quantitative variables for large-N analyses. A lot of work needs to be done to identify, conceptualise and operationalise the factors that can establish causal explanations on the emergence and consolidation of deviant autocracies. The potential variables may relate to different types of former British colonies, elite fragmentation and the involvement of international actors in the transitional process. The conceptualisation and operationalisation of the above variables for large-N analysis may involve the combined efforts of various experts, including both normative and empirical scholars. In addition to quantitative analyses, mixed methods can be used to further understand the issues related to deviant autocracies (see Lieberman 2005; Morse and Niehaus 2009). For example, qualitative data may serve as an explorative study to develop new variables for further quantitative investigation. To further investigate this research topic, a neo actor-based analysis could be used to study the transitional period of all of the deviant autocracies. After obtaining qualitative data from individual cases, the next stage is to evaluate the feasibility of identifying measureable variables for quantitative analysis. To implement this plan, we need to overcome technical problems such as the operationalisation and availability of data for mining and comparison.

Practical Implications of My Study

Recent political confrontations in Singapore and Hong Kong indicate that the opposition has learnt how to maximise its bargaining power to challenge the ruling elites. In Hong Kong, democrats launched the Umbrella Movement that occupied the financial district to urge the incumbent rulers to provide genuine democratic elections. This civil disobedience movement, which involved several thousands of protesters, occupied the major roads in the city centre. Yet, despite protests and demonstrations over civil liberties and political rights occurring quite frequently in Hong Kong, the movement did not achieve its aims and the government used riot police to crack down on it. The opposition forces in Hong Kong are aware that the existing formal institutional arrangements are far from effective for expressing their demands for democratisation. In the future, they may use more radical and non-institutional means of challenging the ruling elites.

The opposition in Singapore also continues to exert pressure on the ruling elites within the existing institutional framework. Dr Chee Soon Juan, leader of the opposition Singapore Democratic Party, has been jailed several times in the past 15 years for confronting leaders of the governing People's Action Party. At a seminar in Hong Kong on 6 November 2014, Dr Chee and his core party members explained that they have learnt how to play the role of opposition. They abide by laws and regulations when criticising Singaporean government officials and policies to avoid arrest or suppression. Not surprisingly, another element of the opposition, the Workers' Party, has managed to survive in the stunted parliamentary general elections despite the repressive measures imposed by the ruling elites.

This study was conducted amidst the intensified struggle between the ruling elites and various oppositional forces in Singapore and Hong Kong. The opposition elites seem to have realised that traditional ways of struggling for democratisation are far from effective in societies with high levels of economic development. They are willing to change strategies to challenge the autocratic regimes. Thus, it is time for scholars of democratisation and comparative politics to take the study of deviant

autocracies more seriously. Further research on this understudied area will not only add to the knowledge and enhance the theory in the field, but will also provide useful strategies for democratic practitioners.

Appendix

Appendix A: List of Major Actors – Singapore

Major Actor (Highlighted in the Archival Documents)	Affiliation/Position
A. M. MacKintosh	Head of South East Department at the Colonial Office, 1952 to 1955
Ahmad bin Mohammed Ibrahim	Advocate and Solicitor, Singapore; State Advocate-General of the State of Singapore, 1959 to 1965
Alan Lennox-Boyd	Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1954 to 1959
Anthony Gann	Assistant Principal, Colonial Office
Cecil Francis Smith	Managing Director of Sime Darby & Co., Ltd.
Dato Seth (aka Dato Seth bin Mohamed Said)	State Secretary of Johor, 1953 to 1956; Malay Rulers' Representatives on the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Conference
David Marshall	First Chief Minister of Singapore, 1955 to 1956; Labour Front, 1954 to 1957; Founder of Workers' Party of Singapore, 1957 to 1963
Dr. Goh Keng Swee	Core member in the People's Action Party; Minister for Finance, 1959 to 1965; Minister for the Interior and Defence, 1965 to 1967; Minister for Finance, 1967 to 1970; Minister for Defence, 1970 to 1979; Minister for Education, 1979 to 1980; Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore, 1973 to 1984
Dr. Toh Chin Chye	Chairman of the People's Action Party, 1954 to 1981; Reader in Physiology, University of Singapore, 1958 to 1964; Member of the Singapore Parliament, 1959 to 1988; Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore, 1965 to 1968; Minister for Science and Technology, 1968 to 1975; Minister for Heath, 1975 to 1981
E. N. Larmour	Singapore Governor's Secretary
G. W. Tory	United Kingdom High Commissioner to Malaya, 1957 to 1963
G.A.P. Sutherland	Manager of the Chartered Bank, Singapore
George Douglas-Hamilton (aka The Earl of Selkirk)	United Kingdom Commissioner for Singapore and South East Asia, 1959 to 1963
Gerald Templer	High Commissioner, Federation of Malaya, 1952 to 1954
H.S. Lee	President of Selangor Chinese Chamber of Commerce;

	Chairman, Associated Chinese Chambers of Commerce of Malaya
Harold Wilson	Prime Minister of United Kingdom, 1964 to 1970 and 1974 to 1976
Henry Gurney	High Commissioner, Federation of Malaya, 1948 to 1951
Iain Macleod	Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1959 to 1961
Ian Buchanan Watt	Principal, Colonial Office, 1946 to 1955
J. B. Johnston	Head of the Far Eastern Department of the Colonial Office, 1956 to 1957
J. D. Higham	Head of Eastern (later South East Asia) Department, Colonial Office, 1949 to 1952.
J. J. Paskin	Assistant Under-Secretary of State for the Colonial Office
J. V. Rob	British High Commissioners to Singapore, 1965 to 1967
J.D. Hennings	Colonial Office
James (aka Jim) Griffiths	Secretary of State for Colonies, 1950 to 1951
Lee Kuan Yew	Leader of People's Action Party, 1954 to 1992; Member of Legislative Council/Parliament, 1955 to 1991; Prime Minister of Singapore, 1959 to 1990; Senior Minister of Singapore, 1990 to 2004; Minister Mentor of Singapore, 2004 to 2011
Lim Ching Siong	Co-founded People's Action Party with Lee Kuan Yew in 1954; Accused of involved Hock Lee bus and Chinese Middle School riots in 1955 and 1956; Detained by the Lim Yew Hock's government, 1956 to 1959; Detained by the Lee Kuan Yew's government, 1963 to 1969
Lim Choon-Mong	Leader of Progressive Party Member of Legislative Assembly, 1955 to 1959
Lim Yew Hock	Singapore Progressive Party; Labour Party of Singapore; Labour Front; Member of the Legislative Council and Assembly from 1948 to 1963; Second Chief Minister of Singapore, 1956 to 1959
Malcolm MacDonald	United Kingdom Commissioner-General for South East Asia, 1948 to 1954
Nazir Ahmed Mallal	Advocate and Solicitor of the Colony of Singapore and Federation of Malaya; Founder of Progressive Party in 1947; Member of Legislative Council of Singapore, 1948 to 1955
Oliver Lyttelton	Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1951 to 1954
Ong Eng Guan	Core member of the People's Action Party; Minister of National Development, 1959 to 1960; Formed United People's Party in 1963;

	Member of the Legislative Assembly, 1959 to 1965
Ong Piah Teng	Respected member of the older section of the Chinese community; Managing Director of United Chinese Bank (later changes its name to United Overseas Bank (UOB)), 1935 to 1945; Director of Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce
P. C. H. Holmer	Deputy British High Commissioner to Singapore
R. Jumabhoy	Legislative Councillor and Unofficial Member of the Executive Council in Singapore
R.W. Calderwood	Director of Special Branch, Singapore to Commissioner of Police
Sir Berkeley Gage	British Ambassador to Thailand, 1954 to 1957
Sir Franklin Gimson	Singapore Governor, 1946 to 1952
Sir Gilbert Laithwaite	Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, 1955 to 1959
Sir J. Nicoll	Singapore Governor, 1952 to 1955
Sir John Fearns Nicoll	Singapore Governor, 1952 to 1955
Sir Robert (aka Robin) Black	Singapore Governor, 1955 to 1957
Sir Robert Scott	Commissioner General of United Kingdom in South East Asia, 1955 to 1959
Sir Thomas Lloyd	Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1951 to 1957
Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles	British Colonial Official; Founding of British Singapore
T. C. Jerrom	Principal, Colonial Office
Tan Chin Tuan	Managing Director of Oversea-Chinese Banking Corporation, 1942 to 1972; Deputy President of Singapore Legislative Council, 1951 to 1955; Unofficial Member of Legislative Council, 1948 to 1955
Tan Chye Cheng (aka C. C. Tan)	Advocate and Solicitor of the Supreme Court, Singapore; Member of the Legislative Council, 1948 to 1955; Founder of Progressive Party in 1947
Tengku Long (aka Sultan Hussein Mohamed Shah)	Sultan of Johor, 1824 to 1835
Thio Chan Bee	First Asian principal of the Anglo-Chinese School. 1952 to 1960; Member of Legislative Council of Singapore, 1948 to 1955
Tunku Abdul Rahman	Chief Minister of Federation of Malaya, 1955 to 1957; Prime Minister of Malaysia, 1957 to 1970
W. L. Blythe	Colonial Secretary of Singapore, 1950 – 1953
William Allmond Codrington (aka W. A. C.) Goode	Last Singapore Governor, 1957 to 1959; First Yang di-Pertuan Negara of Singapore, June 1959 to December 1959

Appendix B: List of Major Actors – Hong Kong

Major Actor (Highlighted in Archival Documents)	Affiliation/Position
A. E. Donald	Assistant Under-Secretary of State (Asia and the Pacific) for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 1980 to 1984
A. J. Coles	Private Secretary to Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher
Allen Lee	Unofficial member of the Legislative Council; Leader of the Young Professionals Delegation
Anthony Crosland	Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 1976 to 1977
Chiang, Kai-shek	President of Republic of China
Chou, Enlai	Premier of the People's Republic of China, 1949 to 1976; Vice Chairman of the Communist Party of China, 1956 to 1966 and 1973 to 1976
Chow Liang, Saline Shuk-yee	Un-official member of the Legislative Council; Hong Kong & Kowloon Trades Union Council
Christine Loh	Chairperson of the Hong Kong Observers; Director of Philipp Brothers and Phibro Energy
Daniel Koo	The Chairperson of Shui Hing Company Limited; General Committee member of the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce; Vice Chairman of the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce of Hong Kong
Deng, Xiaoping	Leader of People's Republic of China, 1978 to 1992; Chairman of the Central Military Commission
Donald C. Jamieson	Canada's Higher Commission to the United Kingdom, 1983 to 1985
E. Bolland	Head of the Far Eastern Department, Foreign Office
E. N. Larmour	Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
Edward Heath	Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, 1970 to 1974
Francis Leslie Pym	Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 1982 to 1983
Frank Cooper	Assistant Under Secretary of State, Ministry of Defence (Hong Kong), 1964-1968
General Worsley	Senior British Army officer
H. L. Jenkyns	Department of Economic Affairs, Secretary of State for Economic Affairs
Hilton Cheong-Leen	Chairman of the Urban Council, 1981 to 1986; Unofficial member of the Legislative Council, 1973 to 1978
Huang, Hua	Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, 1976 to 1982
Humphrey Atkins	Lord Privy Seal, 1981 to 1982

Ji, Pengfei	Vice Premier, State Council, People's Republic of China, 1980 to 1982; Director of the Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office, 1983 to 1990
Ji, Shaoxiang	Xinhua News Agency - Hong Kong Branch
Jonathan D. Stoddart	Counsellor in the U.S. Embassy, 1966 to 1969
K. M. Wilford	Assistant (and later deputy) Under-Secretary of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 1969 to 1975
Lau, Wong-fat	Chairman of Heung Yee Kuk, 1980 to 2015
Lee, Kuan Yew	Prime Minister of Singapore, 1959 to 1990; Senior Minister of Singapore, 1990 to 2004; Minister Mentor of Singapore, 2004 to 2011
Liao, Chengzhi	Director of the Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office of the State Council, People's Republic of China, 1978 to 1983
Lord Belstead	Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 1982-1983
Lord Thomson	Newspaper proprietor
Lydia Dunn	Appointed member of the Executive Council and Legislative Council; Executive Director of John Swire & Sons Limited; Director of Swire Pacific Limited
Mahathir Mohamad	Prime Minister of Malaysia, 1981 to 2003
Margaret Thatcher	Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, 1979 to 1990
Mildred Neville	Catholic Institute for International Relations
Wu, Wueqian	Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, 1982 to 1988
Murray MacLehose	Hong Kong Governor, 1971 to 1982
P. F. Ricketts	Second Secretary, Near East and North African Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1981 to 1983; Assistant Private Secretary to the Foreign Secretary, 1983 to 1985
R. B. Crowson	Hong Kong and Indian Ocean Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
Richard Luce	Under-Secretary (and later Minister) of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 1979 to 1982
Robert 'Robin' Black	Hong Kong Governor, 1958 to 1964
Robert Adley, MP	Member of Parliament, the United Kingdom
Robin Butler	Prime Minister's Office
Roland Moyle, MP	Member of Parliament, the United Kingdom
Senhor de Freitas-Cruz	The Portuguese Ambassador
Sir Alexander Grantham	Hong Kong Governor,1947 to 1957
Sir Arthur N. Galsworthy	Deputy Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs, 1956 to 1969

Sir David Trench	Hong Kong Governor, 1964 to 1971
Sir Edward Youde	Hong Kong Governor, 1982 to 1986
Sir Geoffrey Howe	Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 1983 to 1989
Sir Hilton Poynton	Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1959 to 1966
Sir Leslie Monson	Deputy Under-Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
Sir Percy Cradock	British ambassador to Beijing, 1978 to 1983
Sir S. Y. Chung	Senior Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council and Executive Council, 1980 to 1988
Sir Y. K. Pao	A successful business elite in Hong Kong
T.A.K. Elliott	Western Department, Foreign Office
W. S. Carter	Head of the Hong Kong Department, Commonwealth Office
Yao, Guang	Chinese negotiator and Vice-Minister of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, People’s Republic of China, 1982 to 1986
Zhao, Ziyang	Premier of the People’s Republic of China, 1980 to 1989
Zhou, Nan	Vice-Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, People's Republic of China

Bibliography

Abshire, Jean E. (2011) *The History of Singapore*. Oxford, England: Greenwood.

Acemoglu, Daron and Robinson, James A. (2000) 'Inequality, Growth and Development: Democratization or Repression?', *European Economic Review* 44:683-693.

Acemoglu, Daron and Robinson, James A. (2001) 'A Theory of Political Transitions', *The American Economic Review* 91(4):938-963.

Acemoglu, Daron and Robinson, James A. (2006) *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ahmadov, Anar K. (2013) 'Oil, Democracy, and Context: A Meta-Analysis', *Comparative Political Studies* 47(9):1238-1267.

Albertus, Michael and Menaldo, Victor (2012a) 'Coercive Capacity and the Prospects for Democratization', *Comparative Politics* 44(2):151-169.

Albertus, Michael and Menaldo, Victor (2012b) 'Dictators as Founding Fathers? The Role of Constitutions under Autocracy', *Economics and Politics* 24(3):279-306.

Albertus, Michael and Menaldo, Victor (2012c) 'If You're Against Them You're With Us: The Effect of Expropriation on Autocratic Survival', *Comparative Political Studies* 45(8):973-1003.

Alexander, Marcus (2008) 'Democratization and Hybrid Regimes: Comparative Evidence from Southeast Europe', *East European Politics & Societies* 22(4):928-954

Alford, Robert R. and Friedland, Roger (1985) *Powers of Theory: Capitalism, the State, and Democracy*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Allison, Lincoln (1994) 'On the Gap Between Theories of Democracy and Theories of Democratization?', *Democratization* 1(1):8-26.

Almond, Gabriel A. and Sidney Verba. (1963). *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Amundsen, Inge (2014) 'Drowning in Oil: Angola's Institutions and the "Resource Curse"', *Comparative Politics* 46(2):169-189.

Anckar, Carsten (2008) 'On the Applicability of the Most Similar Systems Design and the Most Different Systems Design in Comparative Research', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 11(5):389-401.

Andersen, David, Møller, Jørgen and Skaaning, Svend-Erik (2014) 'The State-Democracy Nexus: Conceptual Distinctions, Theoretical Perspectives, and Comparative Approaches', *Democratization* 21(7):1203–1220.

Andersen, David, Møller, Jørgen, Rørbæk, Lasse Lykke and Skaaning, Svend-Erik (2014) 'State Capacity and Political Regime Stability', *Democratization* 21(7):1305-1325.

Andrew, Kenneth Paul and Tan, Sze-Sian (2003) 'Democracy and the Grassroots Sector in Singapore', *Space & Polity* 7(1):3-20.

Andrews, Stuart (1967) *Enlightened Despotism*. London: Longmans.

Anselin, L. and Getis Arthur (1992) 'Spatial Statistical Analysis and Geographical Information Systems', *Annals of Regional Science* 26:19-33.

Anselin, Luc (1988) *Spatial Econometrics: Methods and Models.* Dordrecht; London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Anselin, Luc and Griffith, Daniel A. (1988) 'Do Spatial Effects Really Matter in Regression Analysis?', *Papers of the Regional Science Association* 65(1):11-34.

Ansell, Ben W. and Samuels, David J. (2014) *Inequality and Democratization: An Elite-Competition Approach.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Appel, Hannah C. (2012) 'Walls and White Elephants: Oil Extraction, Responsibility, and Infrastructural Violence in Equatorial Guinea', *Ethnography* 13(4):439-465.

Arat, Zehra F. (1988) 'Democracy and Economic Development: Modernization Theory Revisited', *Comparative Politics* 21(1):21-36.

Arat, Zehra F. (1991) *Democracy and Human Rights in Developing Countries*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Arbia, Giuseppe (1989) *Spatial Data Configuration in Statistical Analysis of Regional Economic and Related Problems.* Dordrecht; London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Arblaster, Anthony (1987) *Concepts in the Social Sciences: Democracy*. Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Auchincloss, Amy H., Riolo, Rick L., Brown, Danuel G., Cook, Jeremy and Roux, Ana V. Diez (2011) 'An Agent-Based Model of Income Inequalities in Diet in the Context of Residential Segregation', *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 40(3):303-311.

Axelrod, Robert (1997) *The Complexity of Cooperation: Agent-based Models of Competition and Collaboration*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Bäck, Hanna and Hadenius, Axel (2008) 'Democracy and State Capacity: Exploring a J-Shaped Relationship', *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions* 21(1):1-24.

Bader, Julia, Grävingholt, Jörn and Kästner, Antje (2010) 'Would Autocracies Promote Autocracy? A Political Economy Perspective on Regime-Type Export in Regional Neighbourhoods', *Contemporary Politics* 16(1):81-100.

Bagaards, Matthijs (2009) 'How to Classify Hybrid Regimes? Defective Democracy and Electoral Authoritarianism', *Democratization* 16(2):399-423.

Baldwin B. (1990). *The Politics of Social Solidarity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barany, Zoltan (1997) 'Democratic Consolidation and the Military: The East European Experience', *Comparative Politics* 30(1):21-43.

Barari, Hassan A. (2015) 'The Persistence of Autocracy: Jordan, Morocco and the Gulf', *Middle East Critique* 24(1):99-111.

Barr, Jason M., Tassier, Troy, Ussher, Leanne, LeBaron, Blake, Chen, Shu-Heng and Sunder, Shyam (2008) 'The Future of Agent-Based Research in Economics: A Panel Discussion, Eastern Economic Association Annual Meetings, Boston, March 7, 2008', *Eastern Economic Journal* 34:550-565.

Barr, Michael D. (2014) 'The Bonsai under the Banyan Tree: Democracy and Democratisation in Singapore', *Democratization* 21(1):29-48.

Barr, Michael D. and Low, Jevon (2005) 'Assimilation as Multiracialism: The Case of Singapore's Malays', *Asian Ethnicity* 6(3):161-182.

Barrell, John (2006) *The Spirit of Despotism: Invasions of Privacy in the 1790s*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Barro, Robert J. (1996) 'Democracy and Growth', *Journal of Economic Growth* 1(1):1-27.

Barro, Robert J. (1999) 'Determinants of Democracy', *Journal of Political Economy* 107(6):158–183.

Barro, Robert J. (2015) 'Convergence and Modernisation', *The Economic Journal* 125:911-942.

Basic Law (2015) *Basic Law Full Text*. Retrieved at http://www.basiclaw.gov.hk/en/basiclawtext/index.html on 17 May 2015.

Baum, Richard (2000) 'Democracy Deformed: Hong Kong's 1998 Legislative Elections – and Beyond', *The China Quarterly* 162:439-464.

Bearce, David H. and Hutnick, Jennifer A. Laks (2011) 'Toward an Alternative Explanation for the Resource Curse: Natural Resources, Immigration, and Democratization', *Comparative Political Studies* 44(6):689-718.

Beck, Nathaniel, Katz, Jonathan N. and Tucker, Richard (1998) 'Taking Time Seriously: Time-Series–Cross-Section Analysis with a Binary Dependent Variable', *American Journal of Political Science* 42(4):1260–88.

Beetham, David and Boyle, Kevin (1995) *Introducing Democracy: 80 Questions and Answers*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bell, Daniel A. (1997) 'A Communitarian Critique of Authoritarianism: The Case of Singapore', *Political Theory* 25(1):6-32.

Bell, Daniel A. (2006) *Beyond Liberal Democracy: Political Thinking for an East Asian Context.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Bellin, Eva (2004) 'The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective', *Comparative Politics* 36(2):139-157.

Bellin, Eva (2012) 'Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring', *Comparative Politics* 44(2):127-149.

Bellows, Thomas J. (1967) 'The Singapore Party System', *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 8(1):122-138.

Bennett, Andrew (2001) 'Case Studies and Process Tracing in History and Political Science: Similar Strokes for Different Foci', in Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman (ed.), *Bridges and Boundaries: Historians, Political Scientists, and the Study of International Relations*. Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press. Pp. 137–166.

Bennett, Andrew (2006) 'Stirring the Frequentist Pot With a Dash Bayes', *Political Analysis* 14:339-44.

Bennett, Andrew (2008) 'Process Tracing: A Bayesian Perspective' in Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, Henry E. Brady, and David Collier (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Methodology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 702-722.

Bennett, Andrew and Elman, Colin (2006) 'Qualitative Research: Recent Developments in Case Study Methods', *Annual Review of Political Science* 9:455-76.

Berger, Mark T. and Beeson, Mark (1998) 'Lineages of Liberalism and Miracles of Modernisation: The World Bank, the East Asian Trajectory', *Third World Quarterly* 19(3):487-505.

Berger, Peter (1992) 'The Uncertain Triumph of Democratic Capitalism', *Journal of Democracy* 3(3):7-16.

Bermeo, Nancy (2010) 'Interests, Inequality, and Illusion in the Choice for Fair Elections', *Comparative Political Studies* 43(8/9):1119-1147.

Bernal, K. (1987) *Black Athena, vol. 1.* London: Free Association Books.

Bernhard, Michael (2016) 'The Moore Thesis: What's Left After 1989?', *Democratization* 23(1):118-140.

Bernhard, Michael, Reenock, Christopher and Nordstrom, Timothy (2004) 'The Legacy of Western Overseas Colonialism on Democratic Survival', *International Studies Quarterly* 48(1): 225–50.

Best, Bradley J. and Lebiere, Christian (2006) 'Cognitive Agents Interacting in Real and Virtual Worlds', in Ron Sun (ed.), *Cognition and Multi-Agent Interaction: From Cognitive Modeling to Social Simulation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 186-218.

Bhargava, A., Franzini, L. and Narendranathan, W. (1982) 'Serial Correlation and the Fixed Effects Model', *Review of Economic Studies* 49(4):533–549.

Birch, Anthony H. (1993) *The Concepts an Theories of Modern Democracy.* London: New York: Routledge.

Blanton, Robert, Mason, T. David, Athow, Brian (2001) 'Colonial Style and Post-Colonial Ethnic Conflict in Africa', *Journal of Peace Research* 38:473-491.

Blatter, Joachim and Haverland, Markus (2012) *Designing Case Studies: Explanatory Approaches in Small-N Research.* New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Blaug, Ricardo (2002) 'Engineering Democracy', *Political Studies* 50(1):102-116.

Blaug, Ricardo (2009) 'Why is There Hierarchy? Democracy and the Question of Organisational Form', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 12(1):85-99.

Bogaards, Matthijs (2009) 'How to Classify Hybrid Regimes? Defective Democracy and Electoral Authoritarianism', *Democratization* 16(2):399-423.

Boix, Carles (2001) 'Democracy, Development, and the Public Sector', *American Journal of Political Science* 45(1):1–17.

Boix, Carles (2003) *Democracy and Redistribution.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boix, Carles (2008) 'Economic Roots of Civil and Revolution in the Modern World', *World Politics* 60(3):390-437.

Boix, Carles (2011) 'Democracy, Development, and the International System', *American Political Science Review* 105(4):809-828.

Boix, Carles and Stokes, Susan (2003) 'Endogenous Democratization', *World Politics* 55(4): 517-549.

Boix, Carles, Miller, Michael and Rosato, Sebastian (2012) 'A Complete Data Set of Political Regimes, 1800–2007', *Comparative Political Studies* 46(12):1523-1554.

Bollen, Kenneth A. (1983) 'World System Position, Dependency, and Democracy: The Cross-National Evidence', American Sociological Review 48(4):468-479.

Bollen, Kenneth A. (2001) *Cross-National Indicators of Liberal Democracy, 1950-1990. ICPSR02532-v2*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina [producer]. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social

Research [distributor]. Retrieved at http://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR02532.v2 on 5 August 2016.

Bollen, Kenneth A. and Jackman, Robert W. (1985) 'Economic and Noneconomic Determinants of Political Democracy in the 1960s', *Research in Political Sociology* 1:27-48.

Bollen, Kenneth A. and Jackman, Robert W. (1989) 'Democracy, Stability, and Dichotomies', *American Sociological Review* 54(4):612-621.

Bollen, Kenneth A. and Jackman, Robert W. (1990) 'Regression Diagnostics: An Expository Treatment of Outliers and Influential Cases', in Fox, John and Long, J. Scott (eds.), *Modern Methods of Data Analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage. Pp. 257-291.

Bonabeau, Eric (2002) 'Agent-based Modeling: Methods and Techniques for Simulating Human Systems', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 99(3):7280-7287.

Booth, John A. (2008) 'Democratic Development in Costa Rica', *Democratization* 15(4):714-732.

Borkan, J. (2004) 'Mixed Methods Studies: A Foundation for Primary Care Research', *Annals of Family Medicine* 2(1):4-6.

Bratton, M. and van de Walle, N. (1997) *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Braumoeller, Bear and Goertz, Gary (2000) 'The Methodology of Necessary Conditions', *American Journal of Political Science* 44(4):844-858.

Breslin, Shaun (1996) 'China: Developmental State or Dysfunctional Development?', *Third World Quarterly* 17(4):689-607.

Breslin, Shaun (2008) Democratising One-Party Rule*? Political Reform, Nationalism and Legitimacy in the People's Republic of China.* Working Paper 67, FRIDE.

Breusch, T. S. (1978) 'Testing for Autocorrelation in Dynamic Linear Models', *Australian Economic Papers* 17(31):334–355.

Breusch, T. S. and Pagan A. R. (1979) 'A Simple Test for Heteroscedasticity and Random Coefficient Variation', *Econometrica* 47(5):1287-1294.

Breusch, T. S. and Pagan A. R. (1980) 'The Lagrange Multiplier Test and its Applications to Model Specification in Econometrics' *The Review of Economics Studies* 47(1):239-253.

Brownlee, J. (2002) '... and Yet They Persist: Explaining Survival and Transition in Neopatrimonial Regimes', *Studies in Comparative International Development* 37(3):35–63.

Brownlee, Jason (2009) 'Portents of Pluralism: How Hybrid Regimes Affect Democratic Transitions', *American Journal of Political Science* 53(3):515-532.

Brumberg, Daniel (2002) 'The Trap of Liberalized Autocracy', *Journal of Democracy* 13(4):56-68.

Brynen, Rex, Moore, Pete W., Salloukh, Bassel F., Zahar, Marie-Joëlle (2012) *Beyond the Arab Spring: Authoritarianism and Democratization in the Arab World.* Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Bucheli, Marcelo and Salvaj, Erica (2014) 'Adaptation Strategies of Multinational Corporations, State-Owned Enterprises, and Domestic Business Groups to Economic and Political Transitions: A Network Analysis of the Chilean Telecommunications Sector, 1958–2005', *Enterprise and Society* 15(3):534-576.

Bull, Martin J. and Newell, James L. Newell (1993) 'Italian Politics and the 1992 Elections: From "Stable Instability" to Instability and Choange', *Parliamentary Affairs* 46(2):203–227.

Bull, Martin J. and Newell, James L. Newell (2009) 'Still the Anomalous Democracy? Politics and Institutions in Italy', *Government and Opposition* 44(1):42-67.

Bunce, Valerie (1995a) 'Comparing East and South', *Journal of Democracy* 6(3):87-100.

Bunce, Valerie (1995b) 'Paper Curtains and Paper Tigers', *Slavic Review* 54(4):979-987.

Bunce, Valerie (1995c) 'Should Transitologists Be Grounded?', *Slavic Review* 54(1):112-127.

Bunce, Valerie (2000) 'Comparative Democratization: Big and Bounded Generalizations', *Comparative Political Studies* 3(6-7):703-734.

Bunce, Valerie J. and Wolchik, Sharon L. (2010) 'Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes', *World Politics* 62(1):43-86.

Burnham, Peter, Gilland, Karin, Grant, Wyn and Lay-ton Henry, Zig (2004) *Research Methods in Politics.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Burton, Michael G. and Higley, John (1987) 'Elite Settlements', *American Sociological Review* 52(3):295-307.

Burton, Michael G., Gunther, Richard, Higley, John (1992) 'Introduction: Elite Transformations and Democratic Regimes', in John Higley and Richard Gunther (ed.), *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bustelo, Pablo (2000) 'South Korea in 1997-98: A Critical View of the Financial Crisis and the IMF Remedies' in Holger Henke and Ian Boxill (ed.), The End of the 'Asian Model'?. Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Pub. Pp. 163-178.

Butcher, Charity (2014) 'Can Oil-Reliant Countries Democratize? An Assessment of the Role of Civil Society in Algeria', *Democratization* 21(4):722-742.

Campbell, Donald T. (1975) 'Degrees of Freedom and the Case Study', *Comparative Political Studies* 8(2):178–193.

Canache, Damarys (2012) 'Citizens' Conceptualizations of Democracy: Structural Complexity, Substantive Content, and Political Significance', *Comparative Political Studies* 45(9):1132-1158.

Capoccia, Giovanni and Ziblatt, Daniel (2010) 'The Historical Turn in Democratization Studies: A New Research Agenda', *Comparative Political Studies* 43(8):931-968.

Caracelli, V. (2006) 'Enhancing the Policy Process Through the use of Ethnography and Other Study Frameworks: A Mixed-method Strategy', *Research in the School* 13(1):84-92.

Cardoso, Fernando, & Faletto, Enzo. (1978). *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Carodoso, Fernando Henrique (1973) 'Associated-Dependent Development: Theoretical and Practical Implications', in Alfred Stephan (ed.), *Authoritarian Brazil: Origins, Politics, and Future*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press. Pp. 142-176.

Carothers, Thomas (1999) *Aiding Democracy Aboard: The Learning Curve*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Carothers, Thomas (2002) 'The End of the Transition Paradigm', *Journal of Democracy* 13(1):5-21.

Case, William (1996) 'Can the "Halfway House" Stand? Semidemocracy and Elite Theory in Three Southeast Asian Countries', *Comparative Politics* 28(4):437-464.

Case, William (2002) *Politics in Southeast Asia: Democracy or Less*. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon.

Case, William (2005) 'Political Mistrust in Southeast Asia', *Comparative Sociology* 4(1-2):81-100.

Case, William (2008) 'Hybrid Politics and New Competitiveness: Hong Kong's 2007 Chief Executive Election', *East Asia* 25(4):365-388.

Case, William (2009a) 'After the Crisis: Capital and Regime Resilience in the ASEAN Three', *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 39(4):649-672.

Case, William (2009b) 'Low-Quality Democracy and Varied Authoritarianism: Elites and Regimes in Southeast Asia Today', *The Pacific Review* 22(3):255-269.

Casper, Gretchen and Taylor, Michelle M. (1996) *Negotiating Democracy: Transitions from Authoritarian Rule.* Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Cassani, Andrea (2014) 'Hybrid What? Partial Consensus and Persistent Divergences in the Analysis of Hybrid Regimes', *International Political Science Review* 35(5):542-558.

Census and Statistical Department of Hong Kong Government. (1970). *Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics.* The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. Retrieved at http://www.statistics.gov.hk/pub/hist/1961_1970/B10100021970MM01E0100.pdf on 11 April 2014.

Census and Statistical Department of Hong Kong Government. (1980). *Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics.* The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. Retrieved at http://www.statistics.gov.hk/pub/hist/1971_1980/B10100021979MM11E0100.pdf on 11 April 2014.

Census and Statistics Department (2016) *Population Estimates.* The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. Retrieved at http://www.censtatd.gov.hk/hkstat/sub/sp150.jsp?tableID=001&ID=0&productType=8 on 14 August 2016.

Central Intelligence Agency (2014) *The World Factbook*. Retrieved at https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/ on 20 June 2014.

Chan, Elaine and Kwok, Rowena (1999) 'Democratization in Turmoil? Elections in Hong Kong', *Journal of Contemporary China* 8(20):47-65.

Chan, Heng Chee (1976) 'The Rolf of Parliamentary Politicians in Singapore', *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 1(3):423-441.

Chan, Joseph M. and Lee, Francis L. F. (2007) 'Political Opportunities, Social Mobilization and Collective Action: The Re-invigorated Pro-Democracy Movement in Hong Kong', *The China Review* 7(2):93-121.

Chan, Raymond K.H. (2013) 'The Welfare–work Nexus in East Asia – A Comparison of Contexts, Paths and Directions'*, Journal of Asian Public Policy* 6(1):99-113.

Chao, Chi-Chur and Yi, Eden S.H. (2007) 'Trade Liberalization, Foreign Ownership, and the Environment in a Small Open Economy', *International Revie of Economics and Finance* 16:471-477.

Charrad, M. and Adams, J. (2011) 'Introduction: Patrimonialism, Past and Present', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 636(6):6–15.

Chase-Dunn, Christopher (1975) 'The Effects of International Economic Dependence on Development and Inequality: A Cross-national Study', *American Sociological Review* 40(6):720-738.

Chee, Soon Juan (2012) *Democratically Speaking*. Singapore: Published by Chee Soon Juan.

Cheibub, José Antonio, Gandhi, Jennifer and Vreeland, James Raymond (2010) 'Democracy and Dictatorship Revisited', *Public Choice* 143:67-101.

Chen, H. T. (2006) 'A Theory-driven Evaluation Perspective on Mixed Methods Research', *Research in the School* 13(1):75-83.

Chen, Xi (2010) 'State-Generated Data and Contentious Politics in China", in Allen Carlson, Mary Gallagher, Kenneth Lieberthal and Melanie Manion (ed.),

Contemporary Chinese Politics: New Sources, Methods, and Field Strategies. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 15-32.

Cheng, Tun-Jen (1989) 'Democratizing the Quasi-Leninist Regime in Taiwan', *World Politics* 41(4):471-499.

Cheung, Anthony B. L. (2008) 'The Story of Two Administrative States: State Capacity in Hong Kong and Singapore', *The Pacific Review* 21(2):121-145.

Cheung, Siu-Keung (2012) 'Hong Kong: Geopolitics and Intellectual Practice', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 13(3):326-344.

Chew, Ernest C. T. (1991) 'The Foundation of a British Settlement', in Edwin Lee (ed.) *A History of Singapore.* Singapore: Oxford University Press. Pp. 36 – 41.

Chiu, Stephen (1994) *The Politics of Laissez-faire: Hong Kong's Strategy of Industrialization in Historical Perspective.* Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies.

Choi, Alex H. (1999) 'State-business Relations and Industrial Restructuring', in Tak-Wing Ngo (ed.), *Hong Kong's History: State and Society under Colonial Rule*. London: Routledge. Pp. 141-161.

Chong, Terence (2006) 'Ethnic Identities and Cultural Capital: An Ethnography of Chinese Opera in Singapore', *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 13:283-307.

Christopher A. J. (1988) ''Divide and Rule': The Impress of British Separation Policies', *Area* 20(3):233-240.

Chua, Ai Lin (2012) 'Nation, Race, and Language: Discussing Transnational Identities in Colonial Singapore, circa 1930', *Modern Asian Studies* 46(2):283-302.

Chua, Beng Huat (1983) 'Re-opening Ideological Discussion in Singapore: A New Theoretical Direction', *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science* 11(2):31-45.

Chua, Beng Huat (1995) *Communitarian Ideology and Democracy in Singapore*. London and New York: Routledge.

Chua, Beng Huat (2000) 'Public Housing Residents as Clients of the State', *Housing Studies* 15(1):45-60.

Chua, Beng Huat (2010a) 'Disrupting Hegemonic Liberalism in East Asia', *Boundary 2* 37(2):199-216.

Chua, Beng Huat (2010b) 'The Cultural Logic of a Capitalist Single-Party State, Singapore', *Postcolonial Studies* 13(4):335-350.

Chua, Bent Huat and Tan, Joo Ean (1999) 'Singapore: Where the New Middle Class Sets the Standard', in Michael Pinches (ed.), *Culture and Privilege in Capitalist Asia.* London: Routledge. Pp. 137-158.

Chung, Sze-yuen (2001) *Hong Kong's Journey to Reunification: Memoirs of Sze-yuen Chung.* Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.

Clarke, Martin and Butcher, David (2006) 'Reconciling Hierarchy and Democracy: The Value of Management Learning', *Management Learning* 37(3):313-333.

Cliff, Andrew David and Ord, J. K. (1973) *Spatial Autocorrelation.* London: Pion.

Colaresi, Michael and Thompson, William R. (2003) 'The Economic Development–Democratization Relationship Does the Outside World Matter?', *Comparative Political Studies* 36(4):381-403.

Collier, David (1993) 'The Comparative Method', in Ada Finifter (ed.), *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II.* Washington, D.C.: American Political Science Association. Pp. 105 – 119.

Collier, David (2011) 'Understanding Process Tracing', *PS: Political Science & Politics* 44(4):823–830.

Collier, David and Levitsky, Steven (1997), 'Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research', *World Politics* 49(3):430–51.

Collier, David and Levitsky, Steven (2009) 'Conceptual Hierarchies in Comparative Research: The Case of Democracy', in David Collier and John Gerring (ed.),

Concepts and Method in the Social Sciences: The Tradition of Giovanni Sartori. London: Routledge. Pp. 269-288.

Collier, David, Brady, Henry E. and Seawright, Jason (2010) 'Sources of Leverage in Causal Inference: Toward an Alternative View of Methodology', in Henry E. Brady and David Collier (ed.), *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. Pp. 161–200.

Collier, David, Mahoney, James and Seawright, Jason (2004) 'Claiming Too Much: Warnings about Selection Bias', in Henry E. Brady and David Collier (ed.), *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. Pp. 85-102.

Colonial Office (1931) *Letters Patent & Royal Instructions to the Governor of Hong Kong together with Standing Orders of the Legislative Council of Hong Kong 1931 (Amended to 1.5.46.)*. Retrieved at http://ebook.lib.hku.hk/HKG/B3622795X.pdf on 27 February 2016.

Comeau, Ludovic Jr. (2003) 'Democracy and Growth: A Relationship Revisited', *Eastern Economic Journal* 29(1):1-21.

Connors, Michael K. (2009) 'Liberalism, authoritarianism and the politics of decisionism in Thailand', *The Pacific Review* 22(3):355-373

Cook, R. Dennis (1977) 'Detection of Influential Observations in Linear Regression', *Technometrics*, 19:15-18.

Cook, R. Dennis (1979) 'Influential Observations in Linear Regression', *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 74(365):169-174.

Cook, R. Dennis and Weisberg, Sanford (1982) *Residuals and Influence in Regression*. London: Chapman and Hall.

Coppedge, Michael (1999) 'Thickening Thin Concepts and Theories: Combining Large N and Small in Comparative Politics', *Comparative Politics* 41(4):465-476.

Coppedge, Michael (2005) 'Explaining Democratic Deterioration in Venezuela Through Nested Induction', in F. Hagopian & S.Mainwaring (ed.), *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 289-318.

Coulter, Philip (1975) *Social Mobilization and Liberal Democracy*, Lexington: Lexington Books.

Creswell, J. W., Fetters, M. D. and Ivankova, N. V. (2004) 'Designing A Mixed Methods Study in Primary Care', *Annals of Family Medicine* 2(1):7-12.

Croissant, Aurel (2004) 'From Transition to Defective Democracy: Mapping Asian Democratization', *Democratization* 11(5):156-178.

Croissant, Aurel (2014) 'Ways of Constitution-Making in Southeast Asia: Actors, Interests, Dynamics', *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 36(1):23-50.

Crouch, Harold (1996) *Government and Society in Malaysia.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Crouch, Harold and Morley, James W. Morley (1999) 'The Dynamics of Political Change', in James W. Morley (ed.), *Driven by Growth: Political Change in the Asia-Pacific Region*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe. Pp.313-354.

Crystal, Jill (1989) 'Coalitions in Oil Monarchies: Kuwait and Qatar', *Comparative Politics* 21(4):427-443.

Cullen, Rowena and Sommer, Laura (2011) 'Participatory Democracy and the Value of Online Community Networks: An Exploration of Online and Offline Communities Engaged in Civil Society and Political Activity', *Government Information Quarterly* 28(2):148-154.

Curless, Gareth (2016) ''The People Need Civil Liberties': Trade Unions and Contested Decolonisation in Singapore', *Labor History* 57(1):53-70.

Currall, Steven C. and Towler, Annette J. (2003) 'Research Methods in Management and Organizational Research: Toward Integration of Qualitative and

Quantitative', in Abbas Tashakkori and Charles Teddlie (ed.), *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social & Behavioral Research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Pp. 513–526.

Cutright, Philips and Wiley, James A. (1969) 'Modernization and Political Representation, 1927-1966', *Studies in Comparative International Development* 5(2):23-41.

Cutright, Phillips (1963) 'National Political Development: Measurement and Analysis', *American Sociological Review* 28(2):253-264.

Dahl, Robert A. (1973) *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Dahl, Robert A. (1989) *Democracy and Its Critics.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Dahl, Robert A. (2000) *On Democracy.* New Heaven, MA: Yale University Press.

Dahrendorf, Ralf (1969) *Society and Democracy in Germany.* New York: Anchor Books.

Daquila Teofilo C. (2004) *The Economies of Southeast Asia: Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.* New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc.

Davidson, Jamie S. (2009) 'Dilemmas of Democratic Consolidation in Indonesia', *The Pacific Review* 22(3):293-310.

Davis, John C. (1986) *Statistics and Data Analysis in Geology.* New York: Wiley.

De Meur, Gisèl and Berg-Schlosser, Dirk (1994) 'Comparing Political Systems: Establishing Similarities and Dissimilarities', *European Journal of Political Research* 26:192-219.

Della Porta, Donatella and Keating, Michael (2008) 'Introduction', in Donatella della Porta and Michael Keating (ed.), *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A Pluralists Perspective*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 1-16.

Denzin, Norman K. (1989*). The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.

Denzin, Norman K. (2012) 'Triangulation 2.0', *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 6(2):80-88.

Department of Statistics Singapore (2016) *Latest Data*: Population & Land Area. Retrieved at http://www.singstat.gov.sg/statistics/latest-data#16 on 14 August 2016.

Di Palma, Guiseppe (1990) *To Craft Democracies: An Essay on Democratic Transitions.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Diamond, Larry (1994) 'Toward Democratic Consolidation', *Journal of Democracy* 5(3):4-17.

Diamond, Larry (1999) *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Diamond, Larry (2002) 'Elections Without Democracy: Thinking About Hybrid Regimes', Journal of Democracy 13(2):21-35.

Diamond, Larry (2009) 'An Interview with Evan Rolfe and Harvey Stephenson', *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 15(2):77-86.

Diamond, Larry (2012) 'China and East Asian Democracy: The Coming Wave', *Journal of Democracy* 23(1):5-13.

Diamond, Larry and Morlino, Leonardo (2004) 'Quality of Democracy: An Overview', *Journal of Democracy* 15(4):20-31.

Diamond, Larry and Plattner, Marc F. (1993) *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy Revisited*. Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Diamond, Larry, Fukuyama, Francis, Horowitz, Donald L. and Plattner, Marc F. (2014) 'Reconsidering the Transition Paradigm', *Journal of Democracy* 25(1):86-100.

Diebolt, Claude, Mishra, Tapas, Ouattara, Bazoumana and Parhi, Mamata (2013) 'Democracy and Economic Growth in an Interdependent World', *Review of International Economics* 21(4):733-749.

Dion, Douglas (1998) 'Evidence and Inference in The Comparative Case Study', *Comparative Politics* 30(2):127-146.

Dobbs, Stephen (2003) *The Singapore River: A Social History 1819 - 2002*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.

Domhoff, G, William (1983) *Who Rules America Now?* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Doner, Richard F., Ritchie, Bryan F., and Slater, Dan (2005) 'Systemic Vulnerability and the Origins of Developmental States: Northeast and Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspective', *International Organization* 59:327-361.

Doorenspleet, Renske (1997) 'Political Democracy: A Cross-National Quantitative Analysis of Modernization and Dependency Theories', *Acta Politica* 32(4):349-374.

Doorenspleet, Renske (2000) 'Reassessing the Third Waves of Democratization', *World Politics* 52(3):384-406.

Doorenspleet, Renske (2004) 'The Structural context of recent transitions to democracy', *European Journal of Political Research* 43(3):309-335.

Doorenspleet, Renske (2005) *Democratic Transitions: Exploring the Structural Sources of the Fourth Wave*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

Doorenspleet, Renske (2012) 'Deviant Democracies', in Jeffrey Haynes (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Democratization.* New York: Routledge. Pp. 190-206.

Doorenspleet, Renske (2015) 'Where Are the People? A Call for People-Centred Concepts and Measurements of Democracy', *Government and Opposition* 50(3):469-494.

Doorenspleet, Renske and Kopecký, Petr (2008) 'Against the Odds: Deviant Cases of Democratization', *Democratization* 15(4):697-713.

Doorenspleet, Renske and Mudde, Cas (2008) 'Upping the Odds: Deviant Democracies and Theories of Democratization', *Democratization* 15(4):815-832.

Doorenspleet, Renske, Kopecký, Petr and Mudde, Cas (2008) 'Preface', *Democratization* 15(4):695-696.

Drukker, David M. (2003) 'Testing for Serial Correlation in Linear Panel-data Models", *The Stata Journal* 3(2):168–177.

Dryzek, John S. (2009) 'Democratization as Deliberative Capacity Building', *Comparative Political Studies* 42(11):1379-1402.

Dye, Thomas R. (1985) *Who's Running America? The Conservative Years.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Eckstein, Harry (1975) Case Studies and Theory in Political Science, in Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby (ed.), *Handbook of Political Science. Vol. 7 of Political Science: Scope and Theory.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley. Pp. 79-138.

Ekman, Joakim (2009) 'Political Participation and Regime Stability: A Framework for Analyzing Hybrid Regimes', *International Political Science Review* 30(1):7-31.

Elections Department Singapore (2015) *Parliamentary Elections Results.* Retrieved at http://www.eld.gov.sg/elections_past_parliamentary.html on 25 February 2016.

Elster, Jon (1993) 'Constitution-making in Eastern Europe: Rebuilding the Boast in the Open Sea', *Public Administrative* 71(1-2):169-217.

Emmerson, D. K. (2008) 'ASEAN's "Black Swans", *Journal of Democracy* 19(3):70-84.

England, Joe (1971) 'Industrial Relations in Hong Kong', in Keith Hopkins (ed.), *Hong Kong: The Industrial Colony.* Hong Kong: Oxford University Press. Pp. 207-259.

Epstein, David L., Bates, Robert, Goldstone, Jack, Kristensen, Ida and O'Halloran, Sharyn (2006) 'Democratic Transitions', *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3):551-569.

Epstein, Joshua M. (2006) 'Agent-Based Computational Models and Generative Social Science', in Joshua M. Epstein (ed.), *Generative Social Science: Studies in Agent-Based Computational Modelling*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. Pp. 4-46.

Epstein, Joshua M. and Axtell, Robert L. (1996) *Growing Artificial Societies*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Esteban, Mario (2009) 'The Chinese Amigo: Implications for the Development of Equatorial Guinea', *China Quarterly* 199:667-685.

Etzioni-Halevy, Eva (1993) *The Elite Connection: Problems and Potential of Western Democracy.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Evans, Peter B. (1979). *Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State, and Local Capital in Brazil*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Evans, Peter B. (1989) 'Predatory, Developmental, and Other Apparatuses: A Comparative Political Economy Perspective on the Third World State', *Sociological Forum* 4(4):561-587.

Evans, Peter B. (2008) *In Search of The 21st Century Developmental State.* Working Paper No. 4, The Center for Global Political Economy, University of Sussex.

Evans, Peter B. (2012) 'What Wil the 21st Century Developmental State Look Like? Implications of Contemporary Development Theory for the State's Role', in Stephen Wing-kai Chiu and Wong Siu Lun (ed.) *Repositioning the Hong Kong Government: Social Foundations and Political Challenges.* Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. Pp. 23-44.

Farmer, J. Doyne and Foley, Duncan (2009) 'The Economy needs Agent-based Modelling', *Nature* 460:685-686.

Federal Competiveness and Statistics Authority (2015) *Population Estimates 2006 - 2010*. Retrieved at http://fcsa.gov.ae/EnglishHome/ReportDetailsEnglish/tabid/121/Default.aspx?ItemId=1914&PTID=104&MenuId=1 on 27 June 2016.

Ferdinand, Peter (2000) 'Hong Kong, China and the Handling of the Financial Crises: Monetary Management in 1983, 1987 and 1998', in Robert Ash, Peter Ferdinand, Brian Hook and Robin Porter (ed.), *Hong Kong in Transition: The Handover Years. London: MacMillan Press* Ltd. Pp. 42-57.

Ferdinand, Peter (2012) *Governance in Pacific Asia: Political Economy and Development from Japan to Burma.* London: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Field, G. Lowell and Higley, John (1985) 'National Elites and Political Stability', in Gwen Moore (ed.), *Research in Politics and Society: Studies of the Structure of National Elite Groups, vol. 1.* Greenwich, CT: JAI Press. Pp. 1-44.

Finley, M. I. (1983) *Politics in the Ancient World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fleron, Frederick J., Jr. (1969) 'Toward a Reconceptualization of Political Change in the Soviet Union: The Political Leadership System, in Frederic J. Fleron, Jr. (ed.), *Communist Studies and the Social Sciences.* Chicago: Rand McNally. Pp. 222-43.

Flyvbjerg, Bent (2006) 'Five Misunderstandings about Case-Study Research', *Qualitative Inquiry* 12(2):219-245.

Fortin, Jessica (2012) 'Is There a Necessary Condition for Democracy? The Role of State Capacity in Postcommunist Countries', *Comparative Political Studies* 45(7):903-930.

Fortin-Rittberger, Jessica (2012) 'The Role of Infrastructural and Coercive State Capacity in Explaining Different Types of Electoral Fraud', *Democratization* 21(1):95-117.

Fortin-Rittberger, Jessica (2014) 'Exploring the Relationship between Infrastructural and Coercive State Capacity', *Democratization* 21(7):1244-1264.

Fostel, Ana and Geanakoplos, John (2008) 'Leverage Cycles and the Anxious Economy', *American Economic Review* 98(4):1211-1244.

Fox, Jonathan (1994) 'The Difficult Transition from Clientelism to Citizenship: Lessons from Mexico', *World Politics* 46(2):151-184.

Frank, Andre Gunder (1969) Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution: Essays on the Development of Underdevelopment and the Immediate Enemy. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Frank, Andre Gunder (1971) *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil.* Harmonsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.

Freedom House (2012) *Freedom in the World 2012: The Arab Uprisings and their Global Repercussions*. Retrieved at http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2012 on 11 March 2012.

Freedom House (2014) *Freedom in the World 2014.* Retrieved at http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2014 on 12 June 2014.

Freeman, John R. and Quinn, Dennis P. (2012) 'The Economic Origins of Democracy Reconsidered', *The American Political Science Review* 106(1):58-80.

Frees, Edward W. (2004) *Longitudinal and Panel Data: Analysis and Applications in the Social Sciences.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Frendreis, John P. (1983) 'Explanation of Variation and Detection of Covariation: The Purpose and Logic of Comparative Analysis', *Comparative Political Studies* 16(2): 255-272.

Friedheim, Daniel V. (1993) 'Bringing Society Back into Democratic Transition Theory after 1989: Pack Making and Regime Collapse', *East European Politics & Societies* 7(3):482-512.

Friedrich, Carl Joachim and Brzezinski, Zbigniew (1968) *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy.* New York: Praeger.

Fritz, Verna (2008) 'Mongolia: The Rise and Travails of a Deviant Democracy', *Democratization* 15(4):766-788.

Frynas, Jędrzej George (2004) 'The Oil Boom in Equatorial Guinea', *African Affairs* 103(413):527-546.

Fukuyama, Francis (1992) 'Capitalism & Democracy: The Missing Link', *Journal of Democracy* 3(3):100-110.

Fukuyama, Francis (2014) 'States and Democracy', *Democratization* 21(7):1326-1340.

Fung, Archon (2007) 'Democratic Theory and Political Science: A Pragmatic Method of Constructive Engagement', *American Political Science Review* 101(3):443-458.

Furedi, Frank (1990) 'Britain's Colonial Wars: Playing the Ethnic Card', *The Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 28(1):70-89.

Gandhi, Jennifer (2002) *Dictatorial Institutions and their Impact on Policies.* American Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Boston, MA, August 29-September 1, 2002.

Gandhi, Jennifer (2008) *Political Institutions under Dictatorship.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gandhi, Jennifer and Przeworski, Adam (2006) 'Cooperation, Cooptation and Rebellion under Dictatorship', *Economics and Politics* 18(1):1-26.

Gandhi, Jennifer and Przeworski, Adam (2007) 'Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats', *Comparative Political Studies* 40(11):1279-1301.

Ganguly, Sumit (2007) 'Introduction', in Sumit Ganguly, Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner (ed.), *The State of India's Democracy*, Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp.ix-xxii.

Geddes, Barbara (1990) 'How the Cases You Choose Affect the Answers You Get', *Political Analysis* 2(1):131-150.

Geddes, Barbara (1999) 'What Do We Know About Democratization After Twenty Years?', *Annual Review of Political Science* 2:115-144.

Geertz, Clifford (1973) 'Thick Description: Toward an Interpretative Theory of Culture', in Clifford Geertz (ed.), *Interpretation of Cultures*. London: BasicBooks. Pp. 1-30.

Gel'man, Vladimir (2014) 'The Rise and Decline of Electoral Authoritarianism in Russia', *Demokratizatsiya* 22(4):503-522.

George, Alexander L. and Bennett, Andrew (2005) *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences.* London: MIT Press.

George, Alexander L. and McKeown, Timothy J. (1985) 'Case Studies and Theories of Organizational Decision Making', in Robert F. Coulam and Richard A. Smith (ed.), *Advances in Information Processing in Organizations: A Research Annual, Vol 2.* Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press. Pp. 21–58.

George, Cherian (2000) *Singapore: The Air-conditioned Nation. Essays on the Politics of Comfort and Control.* Singapore: Landmark.

George, Cherian (2007) 'Consolidating Authoritarian Rule: Calibrated Coercion in Singapore', *The Pacific Review* 20(2):127-145.

Gerring, John (2004) 'What Is A Case Study and What Is It Good for?', *The American Political Science Review* 98(2):341-354.

Gerring, John (2007) *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gerring, John. (2010) 'Causal Mechanisms: Yes, but…', *Comparative Political Studies* 43(11): 1499–1526.

Gerschewski, Johannes (2013) 'The Three Pillars of Stability: Legitimation, Repression, and Co-optation in Autocratic Regimes', *Democratization* 20(1):13-38.

Gershoy, Leo (1944) *From Despotism to Revolution, 1763-1789.* New York and London: Harper & Row.

Getis, Arthur and Ord, J. K. (1992) 'The Analysis of Spatial Association by Use of Distance Statistics', *Geographical Analysis* 24(3):189-206.

Ghai, Yash (1991) 'The Past and the Future of Hong Kong's Constitution', *The China Quarterly* 128:794-813.

Giannone, Diego (2010) 'Political and Ideological Aspects in the Measurement of Democracy: The Freedom House Case', *Democratization* 17(1):68-97.

Gibler, Douglas M. and Tir, Jaroslav (2014) 'Territorial Peace and Democratic Clustering', *Journal of Politics* 76(1):27-40.

Gilbert, Leah and Mohseni, Payam (2011) 'Beyond Authoritarianism: The Conceptualization of Hybrid Regimes', *Studies in Comparative International Development* 46:270.

Gilli, M. and Winker, P. (2003) 'A Global Optimization Heuristic for Estimating Agent Based Models', *Computational Statistics and Data Analysis* 42:299-312.

Girod, Desha M. and Walters, Meir R. (2012) 'Elite-led Democratisation in Aid-Dependent States: The Case of Mauritania', *The Journal of North African Studies* 17(2):181-193.

Gisselquist, Rachel M. (2008) 'Democratic Transition and Democratic Survival in Benin' *Democratization* 15(4):789-814.

Glaeser, Edward L., La Porta, R., Lopez-de-Silanes, F. and Shleifer, A. (2004) 'Do Institutions Cause Growth?', *Journal of Economic Growth* 9(3): 271–303.

Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede (2002) *All International Politics Is Local: The Diffusion of Conflict, Integration, and Democratization.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede and Ward, Michael D. (2006) 'Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization', *International Organization* 60(4):911-933.

Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede and Ward, Michael D. (2008) 'Diffusion and the Spread of Democratic Institutions', in Beth A. Simmons, Frank Dobbin and Geoffrey Garrett (ed.), *The Global Diffusion of Markets and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 261-302.

Godfrey, L. G. (1978) 'Testing Against General Autoregressive and Moving Average Error Models when the Regressors Include Lagged Dependent Variables', *Econometrica* 46(6):1293–1301.

Goertz, Gary and Mahoney, James (2012) *A Tale of Two Cultures: Qualitative and Quantitative Research in the Social Sciences.* New Jersey and Oxfordshire: Princeton University Press.

Goertz, Gary and Mahoney, James (2013) 'Methodological Rorschach Tests: Contrasting Interpretations in Qualitative and Quantitative Research', *Comparative Political Studies* 46(2):236-251.

Goldstone, Jack A., Bates, Robert H., Epstein, David L., Gurr, Ted Robert, Lustik, Michael B., Marshall, Monty G., Ulfelder, Jay and Woodward, Mark (2010) 'A Global Model for Forecasting Political Instability', *American Journal of Political Science* 54(1):190-208.

Gomez, James (2006) 'Restricting Free Speech: The Impact on Opposition Parties in Singapore', *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies* 23:105-131.

Good, Kenneth and Taylor, Ian (2008) 'Botswana: A Minimalist Democracy', *Democratization* 15(4):750-765.

Goodstadt, Leo F. (2000) 'China and the Selection of Hong Kong's Post-Colonial Political Elite', *The China Quarterly* 163:721-741.

Goodstadt, Leo F. (2004) *Uneasy Partners: The Conflict between Public Interests and Private Profit in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Gorsuch, Richard L. (2015) *Factor Analysis.* London: Routledge.

Greene, J. C., Benjamin, L. and Goodyear, L. (2001) 'The Merits of Mixing Methods in Evaluation', *Evaluation: The International Journal of Theory, Research and Practice* 7(1):25-44.

Greene, Kenneth F. (2010) 'The Political Economy of Authoritarian Single-Party Dominance', *Comparative Political Studies* 43(7):807-834.

Greenwood, Scott (2008) 'Bad for Business? Entrepreneurs and Democracy in the Arab World', *Comparative Political Studies* 41(6):837-860.

Grenville, J. A. S. (1994) *A History of the World in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Grugel, Jean (1998) 'State and Business in Neo-liberal Democracies in Latin America', *Global Society* 12(2):221-235.

Gu, Xinhua and Dong, Baomin (2011) 'A Theory of Financial Liberalisation: Why Are Developing Countries So Reluctant?', *World Economy* 34(7):1106-1123.

Gu, Xinhua, Dong, Baomin and Huang, Bihong (2015) 'Inequality, Saving and Global Imbalances: A New Theory with Evidence from OECD and Asian Countries', *World Economy* 38(1):110-135.

Guba, Egon G. (1990) 'The Alternative Paradigm Dialog', in Egon G. Guba (ed.), *The Paradigm Dialog*. London: Sage Publication Ltd. Pp. 17-30.

Gurses, Mehmet (2009) 'State-sponsored Development, Oil and Democratization', *Democratization* 16(3):508-529.

Gurses, Mehmet (2011) 'Elites, Oil, and Democratization: A Survival Analysis', *Social Science Quarterly* 92(1):164-184.

Hadenius, Axel and Teorell, Jan (2005) 'Cultural and Economic Prerequisites of Democracy: Reassessing Recent Evidence', *Studies in Comparative International Development* 39(4):87-106.

Hadenius, Axel and Teorell, Jan (2007) 'Pathways from Authoritarianism', *Journal of Democracy* 18(1):143-156.

Hadiz, Vedi R. (2009) 'Understanding Social Trajectories: Structure and Actor in the Democratization Debate', *Pacific Affairs* 81(4):527-536.

Haggard, Stephan and Kaufman, Robert (1995) *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Haggard, Stephan and Kaufman, Robert (1997) 'The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions', *Comparative Politics* 29(3):263-283.

Haggard, Stephan and Kaufman, Robert R. (2012) 'Inequality and Regime Change: Democratic Transitions and the Stability of Democratic Rule', *American Political Science Review* 106(3):495-516.

Hale, Henry E. (2013) 'Regime Change Cascades: What We Have Learned from the 1848 Revolutions to the 2011 Arab Uprisings', *Annual Review of Political Science* 16:331-353.

Hall, Peter A. (2006) 'Systematic Process Analysis: When and How to Use It', *European Management Review* 3: 24–31.

Hall, Peter A. (2008) 'Systematic Process Analysis: When and How to Use It', *European Political Science* 7:304-317.

Halpern, Daniel and Gibbs Jennifer (2013) 'Social Media as a Catalyst for Online Deliberation? Exploring the Affordances of Facebook and YouTube for Political Expression', *Computers in Human Behavior* 29(3):1159-1168.

Hammersley, Martyn and Atkinson, Paul (1995) *Ethnography: Principles in Practice 2nd Edition*. London: Routledge.

Han, Christine (2000) 'National Education and 'Active Citizenship': Implications for Citizenship and Citizenship Education in Singapore', *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 20(1):63-72.

Hanson, Jonathan K. (2015) 'Democracy and State Capacity: Complements or Substitutes?', *Studies in Comparative International Development* 50:304-330.

Hariri, Jacob Gerner (2012) 'The Autocratic Legacy of Early Statehood', *American Political Science Review* 106(3):471-494.

Harish, S. P. (2006) 'Ethnic or Religious Cleavage? Investigating the Nature of the Conflict in Southern Thailand', *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 28(1):48-69.

Harold, Kerbo (2005) 'Foreign Investment and Disparities in Economic Development and Poverty Reduction', International Journal of Comparative Sociology 46(5/6):425-459.

Harrison, Ross (1993) *Democracy.* London and New York: Routledge.

Harvey, David (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hawkins, Darren (2001) 'Democratization Theory and Nontransitions: Insights from Cuba', *Comparative Politics* 33(4):441-461.

He, Baogang (2009) 'Social Protests, Village Democracy and State Building in China: How Do Rural Social Protests Promote Village Democracy?', in Khun Eng Kuah-Pearce and Gilles Guiheux (ed.) *Social Movements in China and Hong Kong: The Expansion of Protest Space.* Amsterdam University Press. Pp. 25-44.

He, Baogang and Leib, Ethan J. (2006). 'Editors' Introduction', in Ethan J. Leib and B. He (ed.), *The Search for Deliberative Democracy in China.* Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 1-19.

Held, David (2006) *Models of Democracy.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hermansson, Jörgen (1992) 'Democratization of Eastern Europe: A Game Theoretic Perspective', *Scandinavian Political Studies* 15(3):217-233.

Hesse-Biber, Shrlene Nagy (2010) *Mixed Methods Research: Merging Theory with Practice.* New York: The Guilford Press.

Hewison, Kevin (1999a) 'Political Space in Southeast Asia: 'Asian-style' and Other Democracies', *Democratization* 6(1):224-245.

Hewison, Kevin (1999b) *Thailand's Capitalism: The Impact of the Economic Crisis.* UNEAC Asia Papers, No. 1, University of New England. Retrieved at http://econ.tu.ac.th/class/archan/RANGSUN/EC%20460/EC%20460%20Readings/Thai%20Economy/Thai%20Capitalism/Thailand's%20Capitalism-%20Impact%20of%20Econ%20Crisis.pdf on 23 July 2016.

Hewison, Kevin (2002) 'Thailand: Boom, Bust, and Recovery', *Perspective on Global Development and Technology* 1(3-4):225-250.

Hewison, Kevin (2003) *The Politics of Neo-Liberalism: Class and Capitalism in Contemporary Thailand.* Working Paper Series No. 45, Southeast Asia Research Centre, City University of Hong Kong. Retrieved at http://www.cityu.edu.hk/searc/Resources/Paper/WP45_03_Hewison.pdf, on 23 July 2016.

Hewison, Kevin (2007a) 'Constitutions, Regimes and Power in Thailand', *Democratization* 14(5):928-945.

Hewison, Kevin (2007b) 'Thailand after the "Good" Coup', *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 14(1):237-247.

Hewison, Kevin (2015) 'Thailand: Contestation over Elections, Sovereignty and Representation', *Representation* 51(1):51-62.

Higley, John and Burton, Michael G. (1998) 'Elite Settlements and the Taming of Politics', *Government and Opposition* 33(1):98-115.

Higley, John and Burton, Michael G. (2006) *Elite Foundations of Liberal Democracy.* Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Hill, Richard Child, Park, Bae-Gyoon and Saito, Asato (2012). Introduction: Locating Neoliberalism in East Asia. In Bae-Gyoon Park, Richard Child Hill and Asato Saito (ed.), *Locating Neoliberalism in East Asia: Neoliberalized Spaces in Asian Developmental States*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. Pp. 1–26.

Ho, Wing-chung and Fung, Sai-fu (2015) 'Social Estrangement of Cadmium-poisoned Women Workers At and Away from Home', *China: An International Journal* 13(2):45-66.

Ho, Wing-Chung, Lee, Wan-Lung, Chan, Chun-Man, Ng, Yat-Nam and Choy, Yee-Hung (2010) 'Hong Kong's Elite Structure, Legislature and the Bleak Future of Democracy under Chinese Sovereignty', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 40(3):466-486.

Holliday, Ian, Ma, Ngok and Yep, Ray (2004) 'After 1997: The Dialectics of Hong Kong Dependence', *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 34(2):254-270.

Holmes, Stephen (1993) 'Tocqueville and Democracy', in David Copp, Jean Hampton and John E. Roemer (ed.), *The Idea of Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 23-63.

Hook, Brian (1993) 'Political Change in Hong Kong', *The China Quarterly* 136:840-863.

Hout, Wil (1993) *Capitalism and the Third World.* Aldershot, Hants, England: Edward Elgar.

Hout, Wil (2009) 'Development and Governance: An Uneasy Relationship', in Wil Hout and Richard Robison (ed.), *Governance and the Depoliticisation of Development.* London and New York: Routledge. Pp. 29-43.

Hout, Wil (2016) 'Classical Approaches to Development: Modernisation and Dependency', in Jean Grugel and Daniel Hammett (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of International Development.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 21-39.

Hout, Wil and Meijerink, Frits (1996) 'Structures in the International Political Economy: World System Theory and Unequal Development', *European Journal of International Relations* 2(1):47-76.

Howe, Kenneth R. (2004) 'A Critique of Experimentalism', *Qualitative Inquiry* 10(1):42-61.

Hsü, Immanuel C. Y. (1995) *The Rise of Modern China 5th Edition.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Huang, Jianli and Hong, Lysa (2007) 'Chinese Diasporic Culture and National Identity: The Taming of the Tiger Balm Gardens in Singapore', *Modern Asian Studies* 41(1):41-76.

Huber, Evelyne, Rueschemeyer, Dietrich and Stephens, John D. (1993) 'The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy', *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7(3):71-85.

Huber, Evelyne, Rueschemeyer, Dietrich and Stephens, John D. (1997) 'The Paradoxes of Contemporary Democracy: Formal, Participatory, and Social Dimensions', *Comparative Politics* 29(3):323-342.

Huff, W.G. (1994) *The Economic Growth of Singapore: Trade and Development in the Twentieth Century.* Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hughes, Richard (1976) *Borrowed Place, Borrowed Time: Hong Kong and Its Many Faces (2nd Edition)*. London: Andre Deutsch Ltd.

Humphreys, Macartan and Jacobs, Alan M. (2015) 'Mixing Methods: A Bayesian Approach', *American Political Science Review* 109(4):653-673.

Huntington, Samuel (1968) *Political Order in Changing Societies.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Huntington, Samuel (1991) *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman, Okla.; London: University of Oklahoma Press.

Hutchison, Jane, Hout, Wil, Hughes, Caroline and Robison, Richard (2014) *Political Economy and the Aid Industry in Asia.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Huxley, Tim (1991) 'Southeast Asia: New and Old Orders: Singapore and Malaysia: A Precarious Balance?', *The Pacific Review* 4(3):204-213.

Huxley, Tim (2000) *Defending the Lion City: The Armed Forces of Singapore.* New South Wales: Allen & Unwin.

Hyden, Goran (1983) *No Shortcuts to Progress.* London: Heinemann.

Information Services Department (2011) *Hong Kong Government Yearbook 2011*. The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. Retrieved at http://www.yearbook.gov.hk/2011/en/index.html on 28 July 2013.

Inglehart, Ronald (1988) 'The Renaissance of Political Culture', *American Political Science Review* 82(4):1203–1230.

Inglehart, Ronald and Welzel, Christian (2003) 'Political Culture and Democracy: Analyzing Cross-Level Linkages', *Comparative Politics* 36(1):61-79.

Innes, Abby (2002) *The Changing Power of the State in Eastern Europe.* European Consortium for Political Research Enlargement and European Governance workshop, Turin, Italy, 22-27 March 2002. Retrieved at https://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/8b46e11b-2248-43b1-9fdd-3139e2fe3433.pdf on 22 July 2016.

Jäger, Kai (2012) 'Why Did Thailand's Middle Class Turn Against A Democratically Elected Government? The Information-gap Hypothesis', *Democratization* 19(6):1138-1165.

Jayasuriya, Kanishka (1994) 'Singapore: The Politics of Regional Definition', *The Pacific Review* 7(4):411-420.

Jayasuriya, Kanishka and Hewison, Kevin (2004) 'The Antipolitics of Good Governance', *Critical Asian Studies* 36(4):571-590.

Jayasuriya, Kanishka and Rodan, Garry (2007) 'Beyond Hybrid Regimes: More Participation, Less Contestation in Southeast Asia', *Democratization* 14(5):773-794.

Jensen, Carsten and Skaaning, Svend-Erik (2012) 'Modernization, ethnic fractionalization, and Democracy', *Democratization* 19(6):1117-1137.

Johnson, R. Burke, Onwuegbuzie, Anthony J. and Turner, Lisa A. (2007), 'Toward a Definition of Mixed Methods Research', *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 1(2):112-133.

Johnstone, P. L. (2004) 'Mixed Methods, Mixed Methodology Health Services Research in Practice', *Qualitative Health Research* 14(2):259-271.

Jones, A. H. M. (1957) *Athenian Democracy.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Jones, David Martin (1997) *Political Development in Pacific Asia*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Jones, David Martin (1998) 'Democratization, Civil Society, and Illiberal Middle Class Culture in Pacific Asia', *Comparative Politics* 30(2):147-169.

Kailitz, Steffen (2013) 'Classifying Political Regimes Revisited: Legitimation and Durability' *Democratization* 20(1):39-60.

Kamrava, Mehran (2007) 'The Middle East's Democracy Deficit in Comparative Perspective', *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* 6(1):189-213.

Kang, David C. (2003) 'Transaction Costs and Crony Capitalism in East Asia', *Comparative Politics* 35(4):439-458.

Kapiszewski, Diana, Maclean, Lauren M. and Read, Benjamin L. (2015) *Field Research in Political Science: Practices and Principles.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Karl, Terry Lynn (1990) 'Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America', *Comparative Politics* 23(1):1–21.

Karl, Terry Lynn (1997) 'Negotiating Democracy: Transitions from Authoritarian Rule', The American *Political Science Review* 91(3):758-760.

Karl, Terry Lynn (2005) *From Democracy and Democratization and Back: Before Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law Working.* Stanford Institute on International Studies, Working Paper Number 45. Retrieved at http://cddrl.fsi.stanford.edu/publications/from_democracy_to_democratization_and_back__before_transitions_from_authoritarian_rule on 27 June 2016.

Karl, Terry Lynn and Schmitter, Philippe C. (1991) 'Modes of Transition in Latin America, Southern and Eastern Europe', *International Social Science Journal,* 43(128):269-284.

Karl, Terry Lynn and Schmitter, Philippe C. (1995) 'From an Iron Curtain to a Paper Curtain: Grounding Transitologists or Students of Postcommunism?', *Slavic Review* 54(4):965-978.

Kennedy, Ryan (2010) 'The Contradiction of Modernization: A Conditional Model of Endogenous Democratization', *The Journal of Politics* 72(3):785-798.

Kenyon, Thomas and Naoi, Megumi (2010) 'Policy Uncertainty in Hybrid Regimes: Evidence From Firm-Level Surveys', *Comparative Political Studies* 43(4):486-510.

Khan, Mushtaq H. (2005) 'Markets, States and Democracy: Patron–client Networks and the Case for Democracy in Developing Countries', *Democratization* 12(5):704-724.

Khatib, Hisham (2014) 'Oil and Natural Gas Prospects: Middle East and North Africa', *Energy Policy* 61:71-77.

Kim, Sunhyuk (2003) 'Civil Society in Democratizing Korea', in Samuel S. Kim (ed.) *Korea's Democratization.* New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 81-106.

King, Ambrose Yeo-chi (1975) 'Administrative Absorption of Politics in Hong Kong: Emphasis on the Grass Roots Level', *Asian Survey* 15(5):422-439.

King, Gary, Keohane, Robert O. and Verba, Sidney (1994) *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Kirby, A. M. and Ward, M. D. (1987) 'The Spatial Analysis of Peace and War', *Comparative Political Studies* 20:293-313.

Kitschelt, Herbert (1992) 'Political Regime Change: Structure and Process-Driven Explanations?', *The American Political Science Review* 86(4):1028-1034.

Kittel, Bernhard and Kuehn, David (2013) 'Introduction: Reassessing the Methodology of Process Tracing', *European Political Science* 12(1):1-9.

Knauerhase, Ramon (1979) 'The Oil Producing Middle East States', *Current History* 76(443):9-13.

Knutsen, Carl Henrik (2011) 'Democracy, Dictatorship and Protection of Property Rights', *Journal of Development Studies* 47 (1):164–182.

Knutsen, Carl Henrik (2012) 'Democracy, State Capacity, and Economic Growth', *World Development* 43:1-18.

Knutsen, Carl Henrik and Nygård, Håvard Mokleiv (2015) 'Institutional Characteristics and Regime Survival: Why Are Semi-Democracies Less Durable Than

Autocracies and Democracies?', *American Journal of Political Science* 59(3):656-670.

Koelble, Thomas A. and Lipuma, Edward (2008) 'Democratizing Democracy: A Postcolonial Critique of Conventional Approaches to the 'Measurement of Democracy'', *Democratization* 15(1):1-28.

Kohli, Atul, Evans, Peter, Katzenstein, Peter J., Przeworski, Adam, Rudolph, Susanne Hoeber, Scott, James C. and Skocpol, Theda (1996) 'The Role of Theory in Comparative Politics: A Symposium', *World Politics* 48(1):1-49.

Köllner, Patrick and Kailitz, Steffen (2013) 'Comparing Autocracies: Theoretical Issues and Empirical Analysis', *Democratization* 20(1):1-12.

Krastev, Ivan and Holmes, Stephen (2012) 'An Autospy of Managed Democracy', *Journal of Democracy* 23(3):33-45.

Krieger, Leondard (1975) *An Essay on the Theory of Enlightened Despotism.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Krugman, Paul (1994) 'The Myth of Asia's Miracle', *Foreign Affairs* 73(6):62-79.

Kuan, Hsin-chi (1991) 'Power Dependence and Democratic Transition: The Case of Hong Kong', *The China Quarterly* 128:774:793.

Kuan, Hsin-Chi and Lau, Siu-Kai (2002) 'Between Liberal Autocracy and Democracy: Democratic Legitimacy in Hong Kong', *Democratization* 9(4):58-76.

Künkler, Mirjam and Leininger, Julia (2009) 'The Multi-Faceted Role of Religious Actors in Democratization Processes: Empirical Evidence From Five Young Democracies', *Democratization* 16(6):1058-1092.

Kuznets, Simon (1955) 'Economic Growth and Income Inequality', *The American Economic Review* 45(1):1-28.

Kwon, Hyeok Yong (2004) 'Economic Reform and Democratization: Evidence from Lain America and Post-Socialist Countries', *British Journal of Political Science* 34(2):357-375.

Kwong, Bruce Kam-Kwan (2007) 'Patron-Client Politics in Hong Kong: A Case Study of the 2002 and 2005 Chief Executive Elections', *Journal of Contemporary China* 16(52):389-415.

Lam, Jermain and Mok, Ka-ho (1997) 'Economic Prosperity or Democracy: Dilemma of Development in Hong Kong and China', *Journal of Contemporary China* 6(16):461-485.

Lam, Theodora and Yeoh, Brenda S. A. (2004) 'Negotiating "Home" and "National Identity": Chinese-Malaysian Transmigrants in Singapore', *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 45(2):141-164.

Lange, Matthew, Mahoney, James and vom Hau, Matthias (2006) 'Colonialism and Development: A Comparative Analysis of Spanish and British Colonies', *American Journal of Sociology* 111(5):1412-1462.

Lankina, Tomila and Getacheq, Lullit (2012) 'Mission or Empire, Word or Sword? The Human Capital Legacy in Postcolonial Democratic Development', *American Journal of Political Science* 56(2):465-483.

Lau, Siu-kai (1984) *Society and Politics in Hong Kong.* Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Lau, Siu-kai and Kuan Hsin-chi (2002) 'Hong Kong's Stunted Political Party System', *The China Quarterly* 172:1010-1028.

Lau, Siu-kai and Kuan, Hsin-chi (2000) 'Partial Democratization, "Foundation Moment" and Political Parties in Hong Kong', *The China Quarterly* 163:705-720.

Lau, Siu-kai and Liu, Zhaojia (1984) *Society and Politics in Hong Kong.* Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.

Lee, Chang Kil and Strang, David (2006) 'The International Diffusion of Public-Sector Downsizing: Network Emulation and Theory-Driven Learning', *International Organization* 60(4):883-909.

Lee, Eliza W. Y. and Haque, M. Shamsul (2006) 'The New Public Management Reform and Governance in Asian NICs: A Comparison of Hong Kong And Singapore', *Governance: An International Journal of Policy Administration And Institutions* 19(4):605-626.

Lee, Kuan Yew (1998) *The Singapore Story: Memoirs of Lee Kuan Yew.* Singapore: Times Editions Pte Ltd.

Lee, Kuan Yew (2000) *From Third World to First.* New York: HarperCollins Publishers.

Lee, Kuan Yew (2013) *One Man's View of the World.* Singapore: Straits Times Press.

Lee, Siu-yau and Yu Yim-fong (2012) 'Homeownership and Political Legitimacy: A Case Study of Hong Kong and Singapore', *Politics* 32(1):52-64.

Lee, Terence (2009) 'The Armed Forces and Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Explaining the Role of the Military in 1986 Philippines and 1998 Indonesia', *Comparative Political Studies* 42(5):640-669.

Legislative Council Election (2016) *Election Results.* Retrieved at http://www.elections.gov.hk/legco2016/eng/results.html?1474517835391 on 22 September 2016.

Legislative Council of the HKSAR (2015) *History of the Legislature*. Retrieved at http://www.legco.gov.hk/general/english/intro/hist_lc.htm on 17 May 2015.

Levi, Margaret (1989) *Of Rule and Revenue.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Levitsky, Steven and Way, Lucan (2002a) 'Elections without Democracy: The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism', *Journal of Democracy* 13(2):51-65.

Levitsky, Steven and Way, Lucan (2002b) *Autocracy by Democratic Rules: The Dynamics of Competitive Authoritarianism in the Post-Cold War Era.* American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston, 28-31 August 2002; rev. 25 October 2002. Retrieved at http://www.ibrarian.net/navon/paper/Autocracy_by_Democratic_Rules__The_Dynamics_of_Co.pdf?paperid=1132262 on 22 July 2016.

Levitsky, Steven and Way, Lucan (2010) *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Levitsky, Steven and Way, Lucan (2013) 'The Durability of Revolutionary Regimes', *Journal of Democracy* 24(3):5-17.

Levy, Jack S. (2007) 'Qualitative Methods and Cross-Method Dialogue in Political Science', *Comparative Political Studies* 40(2):196-214.

Lichtman, Allan and French, Valerie (1978) *Historians and the Living Past.* Wheeling Illinois, Harlan Davidson.

Lieberman, Evan S. (2005) 'Nested Analysis as a Mixed-Method Strategy for Comparative Research', *American Political Science Review*, 99(3):435-452.

Lieberman, Evan S. (2010) 'Bridging the Qualitative-Quantitative Divide: Best Practices in the Development of Historically Oriented Replication Databases', *Annual Review of Political Science* 13:37-59.

Lijphart, Arend (1971) 'Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method', *The American Political Science Review* 65(3):682-693.

Lijphart, Arend (1975) 'The Comparative Cases Strategy in Comparative Research', *Comparative Political Studies* 8(2):158-177.

Lim, Linda Y.C. (1999) 'Free Market Fancies: Hong Kong, Singapore, and the Asian Financial Crisis', in T. J. Pempel (ed.) *The Politics of the Asian Economic Crisis*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. Pp. 101-115.

Linde, Jonas and Ekman, Joakim (2003) 'Satisfaction with Democracy: A Note on a Frequently Used Indicator in Comparative Politics', *European Journal of Political Research* 42:391-408.

Linder, Wolf and Bächtiger, André (2005) 'What Drives Democratisation in Asia and Africa', *European Journal of Political Research* 44:861-880.

Linz, Juan J. (1964) 'An Authoritarian Regime: The Case of Spain', in Erik Allardt and Yrjö Littunen (ed.), *Cleavages, Ideologies, and Party Systems: Contributions to*

Comparative Political Sociology. Helsinki: The Academic Bookstore. Pp. 291-341.

Linz, Juan J. (1975) 'Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes', in Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby (ed.), *Handbook on Political Science, Vol. 3: Macro-political Theory*. Reading, MA: Addison Wesley. Pp. 175-357.

Linz, Juan J. (2000) *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes.* Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Linz, Juan J. and Stephan, Alfred (1996*) Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Liou, Yu-Ming and Musgrave, Paul (2014) 'Refining the Oil Curse: Country-Level Evidence from Exogenous Variations in Resource Income', *Comparative Political Studies* 47(11):1584-1610.

Lipset, Semour M., Seong, Kyoung-Ryung and Torres, John C. (1993) 'A Comparative Analysis of the Social Requisites of Democracy', *International Social Science Journal* 45(2):155-175.

Lipset, Seymour M. (1959) 'Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy', *American Political Science Review,* 53(1):69-105.

Lipset, Seymour M. (1960) *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*, New York: Doubleday.

Lipset, Seymour M. (1994) 'The Social Requisites of Democracy Revisited: 1993 Presidential Address', *American Sociological Review* 59(1):1-22.

Liu, Hong and Wong, Sin-Kiong (2004) *Singapore Chinese Society in Transition: Business, Politics, and Socio-economic Change, 1945 – 1965*. New York: Peter Lang.

Liu, James H., Lawrence Belinda, Ward, Colleen and Abraham, Sheela (2002) 'Social Representations of History in Malaysia and Singapore: On the Relationship between National and Ethic Identity', *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* 5:3-20.

Lively, Jack (2007 [1975]) *Democracy: With a New Introduction by Andrew Reeve.* Colchester: ECPR Press.

Low, Linda (2001) 'The Singapore Developmental State in the New Economy and Polity', *The Pacific Review* 14(3):411-441.

Lu, Ping (2009) *Oral History of Hong Kong Reunification* (in Chinese: *魯平口述香港回歸*). Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (H.K.) Co., Ltd.

Lui, Tai-lok (1999) 'Hong Kong Society: Anxiety in the post-1997 Days', *Journal of Contemporary China* 8(20):89-101.

Lundquist, Lennart (1987) *Implementation Steering: An Actor-Structure Approach.* Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Lust, Ellen (2011) 'Missing the Third Wave: Islam, Institutions, and Democracy in the Middle East', *Studies in Comparative International Development* 46(2):163-190.

Ma, Ngok (2007) 'State-Press Relationship in Post-1997 Hong Kong: Constant Negotiation amidst Self-Restraint', *The China Quarterly* 192:949-970.

Macy, Michael W. and Willer, Robert (2002) 'From Factors to Actors: Computational Sociology and Agent-Based Modeling', *Annual Review of Sociology* 28:143-166.

Magaloni, Beatriz (2008) 'Credible Power-Sharing and the Longevity of Authoritarian Rule', *Comparative Political Studies* 41(4/5):715-741.

Magnus, Ralph (1975) 'Middle East Oil', *Current History* 68(402):49-53.

Magnus, Ralph (1976) 'Middle East Oil and the OPEC Nations', *Current History* 70(412):22-27.

Mahoney, James (2001) *The Legacies of Liberalism: Path Dependence and Political Regimes in Central America*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Mahoney, James (2007) 'Qualitative Methodology and Comparative Politics', *Comparative Political Studies* 40(2):122–144.

Mahoney, James (2012) 'The Logic of Process Tracing Tests in the Social Sciences', *Sociological Methods and Research* 41(4):570-597.

Mahoney, James and Goertz, Gary (2004) 'The Possibility Principle: Choosing Negative Cases in Comparative Research', *American Political Science Review* 98(4):653–69.

Mann, Michael (1984) 'The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results', *European Journal of Sociology* 25(2):185-213.

Mansfield, Edward D. and Pevehouse, Jon C. (2006) 'Democratization and International Organizations', *International Organization* 60(1):137-167.

Mansfield, Edward D. and Snyder, Jack (2002) 'Incomplete Democratization and the Outbreak of Military Disputes', *International Studies Quarterly* 46(4):529-549.

Mansfield, Edward D. and Snyder, Jack (2009) 'Pathways to War in Democratic Transitions', *International Organization* 63(2):381-90.

Mark, Chi-Kwan (2000) 'A Reward for Good Behaviour in the Cold War: Bargaining over the Defence of Hong Kong, 1949-1957', *The International History Review* 22(4): 837-861.

Marsh, Robert M. (1988) 'Sociological Explanations of Economic Growth', *Studies in Comparative International Development* 23(4):41-76.

Marshall, Monty G., Jaggers, Keith and Gurr Ted Robert (2011) *Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2010*. Retrieved from http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscr/inscr.htm on 13 March 2013.

Marshall, Monty G., Jaggers, Keith and Gurr, Ted Robert (2013) *Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2013*. Retrieved at http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm on 12 June 2014.

Matthiesen, Toby (2013) *Sectarian Gulf: Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and the Arab Spring that Wasn't.* California: Stanford University Press.

Mauzy, Diana K. and Milne, R. S. (2002) *Singapore Politics under the People's Action Party*. London: Routledge.

McFaul, Michael (2002) 'The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World', *World Politics* 54(2):212-244.

McFaul, Michael and Petrov, Nikolai (2004) 'What the Elections Tell Us', *Journal of Democracy* 15(3):20–31.

McGuire, M.C. and Olson, M. (1996) 'The Economics of Autocracy and Majority Rule: The Invisible Hand and the Use of Force', *Journal of Economic Literature* 34 (1):72–96.

McLaughlin, Juliana Mohok and Hickling-Hudson, Anne (2005) 'Beyond Dependency Theory: A Postcolonial Analysis of Educating Papua New Guinean High School Students in Australian Schools', *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 25(2):193-208.

McMann, Kelly M. (2006) *Economic Autonomy and Democracy: Hybrid Regimes in Russia and Kyrgyzstan.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

McMillan, Alistair (2008) 'Deviant Democratization in India', *Democratization* 15(4): 733-749.

Means, Gordon P. (1996) 'Soft Authoritarianism in Malaysia and Singapore', *Journal of Democracy* 7(4):103-117.

Meckstroth, Theodore W. (1975) '"Most Different Systems" and "Most Similar Systems": A Study in the Logic of Comparative Inquiry', *Comparative Political Studies* 8(2):132-157.

Menocal, Alina Rocha and Rakner, Verena Fritz (2008) 'Hybrid Regimes and the Challenges of Deepening and Sustaining Democracy in Developing Countries', *South African Journal of International Affairs* 15(1):29-40.

Merkel, Wolfgang (1998) 'The Consolidation Of Post-Autocratic Democracies: A Multi-Level Model', *Democratization* 5(3):33-67.

Meyers, Lawrence S., Gamst, Glenn and Guarino, A. J. (2013) *Applied Multivariate Research: Design and Interpretation.* Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications.

Mill, John Stuart (1893). *A System of Logic Ratiocinative and Inductive: Being a Connected View of the Principles of Evidence and the Methods of Scientific Investigation.* London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Co.

Mills, C. Wright (1956) *The Power Elite.* London; New York: Oxford University Press.

Miners, Norman J. (1986) 'Plans for Constitutional Reform in Hong Kong, 1946-52', *The China Quarterly* 107:463-482.

Miners, Norman J. (1992) 'The Ending of British Rule in Hong Kong', in Michael Twaddle (ed.), *Imperialism and the State in the Third World: Essays in Honour of Professor Kenneth Robinson*. British Academic Press. Pp. 274-287.

Miners, Norman J. (1998) *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong.* Hong Kong; New York: Oxford University Press.

Møller, Jørgen and Skaaning, Svend-Erik (2010) 'Beyond the Radial Delusion: Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy and Non-Democracy', *International Political Science Review* 31(3):261-283.

Møller, Jørgen and Skaaning, Svend-Erik (2013a) 'Regime Types and Democratic Sequencing', *Journal of Democracy* 24(1):142-155.

Møller, Jørgen and Skaaning, Svend-Erik (2013b) *Democracy and Democratization in Comparative Perspective: Conceptions, Conjunctures, Causes, and Consequences.* New York: Routledge.

Møller, Jørgen, Seeberg, Michael and Skaaning, Svend-Erik (2012) *Asymmetrical Constraints on Democratic Regime Types: A Comparative Study.* Paper prepared for presentation at the Democracy as Idea and Practice conference, Oslo, January 12-13, 2012.

Moore, Barrington Jr. (1966) *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy.* New York: Beacon Press.

Morgan, D. G., and Stewart, N. J. (2002) 'Theory Building Through Mixed-method Evaluation of a Dementia Special Care Unit', *Research in Nursing & Health* 25(6):479-488.

Morlino, Leonardo (2009) 'Are There Hybrid Regimes? Or Are They Just an Optical Illusion?', *European Political Science Review* 1(2):273-296.

Morse, Janice M. and Niehaus, Linda (2009) *Mixed Method Design: Principles and Procedures*. Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press Inc.

Mosca, Gaetano (1939) *The Ruling Class* (ed. by Arthur Livingston). London: McGraw-Hill.

Munck, Gerardo L. (2009) *Measuring Democracy: A Bridge between Scholarship and Politics.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Munck, Gerardo L. and Leff, Carol Skalnik (1997) 'Modes of Transition and Democratization: South America and Eastern Europe in Comparative Perspective', *Comparative Politics* 29(3):343-362.

Munck, Gerardo L., and Jay Verkuilen (2002) 'Conceptualising and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices'. *Comparative Political Studies* 35(1):5–34.

Myhre, Snorre Jonas Jordheim (2010) *An Anomaly Explained: The Curious Case of Restricted Democracy in Singapore*. Unpublished MSc Thesis, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University.

Nam, Tae Yul (1969) 'Singapore's Once-Party System: Its Relationship to Democracy and Political Stability', *Pacific Affairs* 42(4):465-480.

Nannen, Volker, van den Bergh, Jeroen C.J.M. and Eiben, A.E. (2013) 'Impact of Environmental Dynamics on Economic Evolution: A Stylized Agent-based Policy Analysis', *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 80(2):329-350.

Narayan, Paresh K., Narayan, Seema and Smyth, Rusell (2010) 'Does Democracy Facilitate Economic Growth or Does Economic Growth Facilitate Democracy? An Empirical Study of Sub-Saharan Africa', *Economic Modelling* 28(3):900-910.

Nasir, Kamaludeen Mohamed and Turner, Bryan S. (2013) 'Governing as Gardening: Reflections on Soft Authoritarianism in Singapore', *Citizenship Studies* 17(3-4):339-352.

Neher, Clark D. and Ross, Marlay (1995) *Democracy and Development in Southeast Asia: The Winds of Change.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Niskanen,W. A. (1997) 'Autocratic, Democratic, and Optimal Government', *Economic Inquiry* 35 (3):464–479.

Noe, Thomas H., Rebello, Michael J. and Wang Jun (2003) 'Corporate Financing: An Artificial Agent-based Analysis', *The Journal of Finance* 58(3):943-973.

Norris, Pippa (2009) *Shared Datasets.* John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. Retrieved at http://www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/pnorris/Data/Data.htm on 29 November 2013

North, Douglass and Weingast, Barry (1989) 'Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England'. *Journal of Economic History* 49(4):803-832.

Nur-tegin, Kanybek and Czap, Hans J. (2012) 'Corruption: Democracy, Autocracy, and Political Stability', *Economic Analysis and Policy* 42(1):51-66.

O'Donnell, Guillermo (1979) *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

O'Donnell, Guillermo (1994) 'Delegative Democracy', *Journal of Democracy* 5(1):55-69.

O'Donnell, Guillermo (2002) 'In Partial Defense of an Evanescent "Paradigm"', *Journal of Democracy* 13(3):6-12.

O'Donnell, Guillermo A., Schmitter, Philippe C. and Whitehead, Laurence (1986a) *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

O'Donnell, Guillermo A., Schmitter, Philippe C. and Whitehead, Laurence (1986b) *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

O'Donnell, Guillermo A., Schmitter, Philippe C. and Whitehead, Laurence (1986c) *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

O'Donnell, Guillermo and Schmitter Philippe C. (1986) *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions from Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

O'Loughlin, John, Ward, Michael D., Lofdahl, Correy L., Cohen, Jordin S., Brown, David S., Reilly, David, Gleditsch, Kritstian S. and Shin, Michael (2004) 'The Diffusion of Democracy, 1946-1994', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88(4):545-574.

O'Shaughnessy, Laura Nuzzi and Dodson, Michael (1999) 'Political Bargaining and Democratic Transitions: A Comparison of Nicaragua and El Salvador', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 31(1):99-127.

Ober, Josiah (1989) *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens: Rhetoric, Ideology, and the Power of the People.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Obydenkova, Anastassia and Libman, Alexander (2014) 'Understanding the Foreign Policy of Autocratic Actors: Ideology or Pragmatism? Russia and the Tymoshenko Trial as a Case Study', *Contemporary Politics* 20(3):347-364.

Olson, Mancur (1993) 'Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development', *American Political Science Review* 87(3):567–576.

Ord, J. K. and Getis, Arthur (1995) 'Local Spatial Autocorrelation Statistics: Distributional Issues and an Application', *Geographical Analysis* 27(4):286-306.

Ortmann, Stephan (2010a) 'Opposition and Regime Legitimacy: A Comparative Study of Singapore and Hong Kong', *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 45(1):67-86.

Ortmann, Stephan (2010b) *Politics and Change in Singapore and Hong Kong: Containing Contention.* London and New York: Routledge.

Ortmann, Stephan (2014a) 'Democratization and the Discourse on Stability in Hong Kong and Singapore', *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* 10(1):123-145.

Ortmann, Stephan (2014b) 'The Significance of By-Elections for Political Change in Singapore's Authoritarian Regime', *Asian Survey* 54(4):725-748.

Ortmann, Stephan and Thompson, Mark R. (2016) 'China and the "Singapore Model"', *Journal of Democracy* 27(1):39-48.

Osborne, Robin (2010) *Athens and Athenian Democracy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Osei, Anja (2015) 'Elites and Democracy in Ghana: A Social Network Approach', *African Affairs* 114(457):529-554.

Ottaway, Marina (2003) *Democracy Challenged: The Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Overholt, William H. (2001) 'Hong Kong: The Perils of Semidemocracy', *Journal of Democracy* 12(4):5-18.

Ozzano, Luca (2014) 'Religion, Political Actors, and Democratization: The Turkish Case', *Politics and Religion* 7:590-612.

Papaioannou, Elias and Siourounis, Gregorios (2008) 'Economic and Social Factors Driving the Third Wave of Democratization', *Journal of Comparative Economics* 36(3):365-387.

Pareto, Vilfredo (1963 [1935]) *The Mind and Society: A Treatise on General Sociology (ed. by Arthur Livington)*. New York: Dover.

Patten, Chris (1999) *East and West.* Croydon: Pan Macmilan.

Pepper, Suzanne (2000) 'Elections, Political Change and Basic Law Government: The Hong Kong System in Search of a Political Form', *The China Quarterly* 162:410-438.

Petsinis, Vassilis (2010) 'Twenty Years after 1989: Moving on from Transitology', *Contemporary Politics* 16(3):301-319.

Phongpaichit, Pasuk and Baker, Christopher (2008) 'Thaksin's Populism', *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 38(1):62–83.

Ploug, Niels, Kvist, Jon (1994). *Recent Trends in Cash Benefits in Europe.* Copenhagen: Danish National Institute of Social Research.

Pollis, Adamantia (1973) 'Intergroup Conflict and British Colonial Policy: The Case of Cyprus', *Comparative Politics* 5(4):575-599.

Ponte, Borja, Sierra, Enrique, de la Fuente, David and Lozano, Jesús (2017) 'Exploring the Interaction of Inventory Policies across the Supply Chain: An Agent-Based Approach', *Computers and Operations Research* 78:335-348.

Poon, Angelia (2009) 'Pick and Mix for a Global City: Race and Cosmopolitanism in Singapore', in Daniel P.S. Goh, Matilda Gabrielpillai, Philip Holden and Gaik Cheng Khoo (ed.), *Race and Multiculturalism in Malaysia and Singapore.* London: Routledge. Pp. 70 – 85.

Posner, Richard (2003) *Law, Pragmatism, and Democracy.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Posso, Alberto and Feeny, Simon (2015) 'Income, Democracy and European Colonization', *Applied Economics Letters* 22(15):1257-1261.

Posusney, Marsha Pripstein (2004) 'Enduring Authoritarianism: Middle East Lessons for Comparative Theory', *Comparative Politics* 36(2):127-138.

Prewitt, Kenneth and Stone, Alan (1973) *The Ruling Elites: Elite Theory, Power, and American Democracy.* London: Harper and Row, Publishers.

Przeworski, Adam (1999) 'Minimalist Conception of Democracy: A Defense', in Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordon (ed.), *Democracy's Value.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 23-55.

Przeworski, Adam (2009) 'Conquered or Granted? A History of Suffrage Extensions', *British Journal of Political Science* 39(2):291-321.

Przeworski, Adam and Limongi, Fernando (1993) 'Political Regimes and Economic Growth', *Journal of Economic Perspective* 7(3):51-69.

Przeworski, Adam and Limongi, Fernando (1997) 'Modernization: Theories and Facts', *World Politics* 49(2):155-183.

Przeworski, Adam and Teune, Henry (1970). *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry.* New York: John Wiley.

Przeworski, Adam, Alvarez, Michael A., Cheibub, José A. and Limongi, Fernando (1996) 'What Makes Democracies Endure?', *Journal of Democracy* 7(1):39–55.

Przeworski, Adam, Alvarez, Michael E., Cheibub, José A., and Limongi, Fernando (2000). *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950–1990*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Pye, Lucian W. and Verba, Sidney (1965) *Political Culture and Political Development*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Pye, Oliver and Schaffar, Wolfram (2008) 'The 2006 Anti-Thaksin Movement in Thailand: An Analysis', *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 38(1):38-61.

Qi, Lingling and Shin, Doh Chull (2011) 'How Mass Political Attitudes Affect Democratization: Exploring the Facilitating Role Critical Democrats Play in the Process', *International Political Science Review*, 32(3):245-262.

Quah, Sy Ren (2015) 'Imagining Malaya, Practising Multiculturalism: the Malayan Consciousness of Singapore Chinese Intellectuals in the 1950s', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 16(1):96-112.

Quimpo, Nathan Gilbert (2009) 'The Philippines: Predatory Regime, Growing Authoritarian Features', *The Pacific Review* 22(3):335-353.

Ragin, Charles C. (2000) *Fuzzy-set Social Science.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rao, Geping and Wang, Zhenmin (2007) 'Hong Kong's "One Country, Two System" Experience under the Basic Law: Two Perspectives from Chinese Legal Scholars', *Journal of Contemporary China* 16(52):341-358.

Ravich, Samantha F. (2000) *Marketization and Democracy: East Asian Experiences.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

Rawls, John (1971) *A Theory of Justice.* Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Rawls, John (1993) 'The Domain of the Political and Overlapping Consensus', in David Copp, Jean Hampton and John E. Roemer (ed.), *The Idea of Democracy.* New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 245-269.

Reilly, Benjamin (2013) 'Southeast Asia: In the Shadow of China', *Journal of Democracy* 24(1):156-164.

Rhoden, T. F. (2015) 'The Liberal in Liberal Democracy', *Democratization* 22(3):560-578.

Ridenour, C. S. and Newman, I. (2008) *Mixed Methods Research: Exploring the Interactive Continuum*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Riker, William (1982) *Liberalism against Populism: A Confrontation between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice.* San Francisco: Freeman.

Robert, Haining (2003) *Spatial Data Analysis: Theory and Practice.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Roca, Thomas and Alidedeoglu-Buchner, Eda (2010) *Corruption Perceptions: The Trap of Democratization, a Panel Data Analysis.* Group d'economie Lare-Efi du Développement Working Paper No. DT/161/2010, Université Montesquieu-Bordeaux IV.

Rodan, Garry (2003) 'Embracing Electronic Media but Suppressing Civil Society: Authoritarian Consolidation in Singapore', *The Pacific Review* 16(4):503-524.

Rodan, Garry (2004) *Transparency and Authoritarian Rule in Southeast Asia: Singapore and Malaysia*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.

Rodan, Garry (2006). *Singapore 'Exceptionalism'?: Authoritarian Rule and State Transformation*. Working Paper No. 131, Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University.

Rodan, Garry and Jayasuriya, Kanishka (2009) 'Capitalist Development, Regime Transitions and New Forms of Authoritarianism in Asia', *The Pacific Review* 22 (1):23–47.

Rodan, Garry, Hewison, Kevin and Robinson, Richard (2001) 'Theorising South-East Asia's Boom, Bust, and Recovery', in Garry Rodan, Kevin Hewison and Richard Robinson (ed.), *The Political Economy of South-East Asia: Conflict, Crises, and Change.* Melbourne: Oxford University Press. Pp. 1-41.

Rogers, Marvin (1971) 'Malaysia/Singapore: Problems and Challenges of the Seventies', *Asian Survey* 11(2):121-130.

Roodman, David (2009) 'How to Do xtabond2: An Introduction to Difference and System GMM in Stata', *The Stata Journal* 9(1):86-136.

Ross, Michael L. (2001) 'Does Oil Hinder Democracy?', *World Politics* 53(3):325–361.

Rost, Nicolas and Booth, John A. (2008) 'Determinants of Regime Type in Newly Independent States, *European Journal of Political Research* 47:635-664.

Rostow, Walter W. (1960) *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rowen, Henry S. (1995) 'The Tide Underneath the "Third Wave"', *Journal of Democracy* 6(1):52-64.

Roy, Denny (1994) 'Singapore, China, and the "Soft Authoritarian" Challenge', *Asian Survey* 34(3):231-242.

Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Stephens, Evelyne Huber and Stephens, John D. (1992) *Capitalist Development and Democracy.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Runes, Dagobert D. (1963) *Despotism: A Pictorial History of Tyranny*. New York: Philosophical Library.

Rustow Dankwart A. (1970) 'Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model', *Comparative Politics* 2(3):337-363.

Sai, Siew-Min (2013) 'Educating Multicultural Citizens: Colonial Nationalism, Imperial Citizenship and Education in Late Colonial Singapore', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 44(1):49-73.

Samudavanija, Chai-Anan and Parichart, Chotiya (1998) 'Beyond Transition in Thailand', in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (ed.), *Democracy in East Asia.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. Pp. 147–167.

Sartori, Giovanni (1994) 'Compare Why and How: Comparing, Miscomparing and the Comparative Method', in M. Dogan and A. Kazancigil (ed.), *Comparing Nations: Concepts, Strategies and Substance.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Pp. 14-34.

Sartori, Giovanni (2009). 'Democracy: What is vs. How Much', in David Collier and John Gerring (ed.), *Concepts and Method in Social Science: The Tradition of Giovanni Sartori.* New York, NY: Routledge. Pp. 165-167.

Saunders, Elizabeth (2010) *Archival Methods of Research.* New York: Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research, Syracuse University.

Schedler, Andreas (1998) 'What is Democratic Consolidation', *Journal of Democracy* 9(2):91-107.

Schedler, Andreas (2001) 'Measuring Democratic Consolidation', *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36(1):66-92.

Schedler, Andreas (2002) 'Elections without democracy: the menu of manipulation', *Journal of Democracy* 13(2):36–50.

Schedler, Andreas (2006) 'The Logic of Electoral Authoritarianism' in Schedler Andreas (ed.), *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. Pp. 1–26.

Schedler, Andreas and Hoffmann, Berf (2016) 'Communicating authoritarian elite cohesion', *Democratization* 23(1):93-117.

Schmitter, Philippe C. (2015) Crisis and Transition, But not Decline', *Journal of Democracy* 26(1):32-44.

Schmitter, Philippe C. and Karl Terry Lynn (1994) 'The Conceptual Travels of Transitologists and Consolidologists: How Far to the East Should They Attempt to Go?', *Slavic Review* 53(1):173-185.

Schmitter, Philippe C. and Karl, Terry Lynn (1991) 'What Democracy Is… and Is Not', *Journal of Democracy* 2(3):75-88.

Schmitter, Phillippe C. (2010) 'Twenty-Five Years, Fifteen Findings', *Journal of Democracy* 21(1):17-28.

Schneider, Carsten Q. and Schmitter, Philippe C. (2004) 'Liberalization, Transition and Consolidation: Measuring the Components of Democratization', *Democratization* 11(5):59-90.

Schneider, Carsten Q. and Wagemann, Claudius (2006) 'Reducing complexity in Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA): Remote and Proximate Factors and the Consolidation of Democracy', *European Journal of Political Research* 45:751-786.

Schumpeter, Joseph (1950) *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, New York: Harper and Row.

Scott, Ian (1989) *Political Change and the Crisis and Legitimacy in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

Scott, James C. (1969) 'Corruption, Machine Politics, and Political Change', *American Political Science Review* 63(4):1142-1158.

Scott, James C. (1972) *Comparative Political Corruption.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Seawright, Jason and Collier, David (2014) 'Rival Strategies of Validation: Tools for Evaluating Measures of Democracy', *Comparative Political Studies* 47(1):111-138.

Seawright, Jason and Gerring, John (2008) 'Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research: A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options', *Political Research Quarterly* 61(2):294-308.

Seeberg, Merete Bech (2014) 'State Capacity and the Paradox of Authoritarian Elections', *Democratization* 21(7):1265-1285.

Seeberg, Michael (2010a) 'Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War', *Democratization* 19(1):141-143.

Seeberg, Michael (2010b) *Democracy against the Odds.* Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Political Science, Aarhus University.

Seeberg, Michael (2012) *Anomalous Autocracies: What, Which Why?* Paper prepared for the Annual Conference of the Danish Political Science Association on 25-26 October 2012.

Seeberg, Michael (2013) 'Foundations of Political Order in Emerging Democracies', *Political Studies Review* 11(1):39-51.

Seeberg, Michael (2014a) 'Mapping Anomalous Democracies during the Cold War', *Australian Journal of Political Science* 49(1):102-110.

Seeberg, Michael (2014b) 'Mapping Deviant Democracy', *Democratization* 21(4):634-654.

Sen Amartya Drèze Jean (1989). *Hunger and Public Action.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sen, Amartya (2001) 'Democracy as a Universal Value', in Diamond, Larry and Plattner, Marc F. (ed.), *The Global Divergence of Democracies.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. Pp. 3-17.

Shamsul, A. B. (1999) 'Identity Contestation in Malaysia: A Comparative Commentary on "Malayness" and "Chineseness"', *Journal of Southeast Asia Social Sciences and Humanities* 55(1):17-37.

Shannon-Baker, Peggy (2016) 'Making Paradigms Meaningful in Mixed Methods Research', *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 10(4):319-334.

Silva, Eduardo (1996) 'From Dictatorship to Democracy: The Business-State Nexus in Chile's Economic Transformation, 1975-1994', *Comparative Politics* 28(3):299-320.

Simon, Herbert A. (1954) 'Spurious Correlation: A Causal Interpretation', *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 49(267):467-479.

Sing, Ming (1996) 'Democratization and Economic Development: The Anomalous Case of Hong Kong', *Democratization* 3(3):343-359.

Sing, Ming (2004) *Hong Kong's Tortuous Democratization: A Comparative Analysis.* New York: RoutledgeCurzon.

Sing, Ming (2010) 'Explaining Mass Support for Democracy in Hong Kong', *Democratization* 17(1):175-205.

Singapore Department of Statistics (2015*) SingStat Table Builder (Singapore Residents by Age Group, Ethnic Group and Sex, End June, Annual)*. Retrieved at http://www.singstat.gov.sg/ on 28 October 2015.

Singapore Elections (2015) *General Election 1955 to 2015*. Retrieved at http://www.singapore-elections.com/ on 29 October 2015.

Singapore Elections Department (2015) *Parliamentary Elections Results.* Retrieved at http://www.eld.gov.sg/elections_past_parliamentary.html on 29 October 2015.

Singh, Sourabh (2016) 'Political Field Dynamics and the Elite's Interest in Democracy: Insights from the Political Elite's Role in Consolidating Indian Democracy', *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 29:183-208.

Sirowy, Larry, and Inkeles Alex (1990) 'The Effects of Democracy on Economic Growth and Inequality: A Review', *Studies in Comparative International Development* 25(1):126-157.

Sit, Fung-shuen and Kwong, Chi Man (2011) *History of Heung Yee Kuk: From Leased Area to One Country Two System* (in Chinese *新界鄉議局史: 由租借地到一國兩制*). Advanced Institute for Contemporary China Studies, Hong Kong Baptist University.

Skaaning, Svend-Erik, Gerring, John and Bartusevičius, Henrikas (2015) 'A Lexical Index of Electoral Democracy', *Comparative Political Studies* 48(12):1491-1525.

Sklair, Leslie (2002) 'Democracy and the Transnational Capitalist Class', *The ANNALs of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 581:144-157.

Skocpol, Theda (1984) 'Emerging Agendas and Recurrent Strategies in Historical Sociology', in Theda Skocpol (ed), *Vision and Method in Historical Sociology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Pp. 356-391.

Slater, Dan (2003) 'Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and the Personalization of Power in Malaysia', *Comparative Politics* 36(1):81-101.

Slater, Dan (2006) 'The Architecture of Authoritarianism: Southeast Asia and the Regeneration of Democratization Theory", *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* 2(2):1-22.

Slater, Dan (2012) 'Strong-state Democratization in Malaysia and Singapore', *Journal of Democracy* 23(2):19-33.

Smith, Arthur K. Jr. (1969) 'Socioeconomic Development and Political Democracy: A Causal Analysis', *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 13(1):95-125.

Smith, J. K. and Heshusius, L. (1986) 'Closing Down the Conversation: The End of the Quantitative-qualitative Debate Among Educational Inquirers', *Educational Researcher* 15(1):4-12.

Smith, Tony (1981) 'The Logic of Dependency Theory Revisited', *International Organization* 35(4):755-761.

So, Alvin Y. (2000) 'Hong Kong's Problematic Democratic Transition: Power Dependency or Business Hegemony?', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59(2):359-381.

Somer, Murat (2011) 'Does It Take Democrats to Democratize? Lessons From Islamic and Secular Elite Values in Turkey', *Comparative Political Studies* 44(5):511-545.

South China Morning Post (2015) 'Will China's President attend Lee Kuan Yew's Funeral?', South China Morning Post 26 March 2015. Retrieved at http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1747828/will-chinas-president-attend-lee-kuan-yews-funeral on 26 August 2016.

Spicker, Paul (2008) 'Government for the People: the Substantive Elements of Democracy', *International Journal of Social Welfare* 17(3):251-259.

Stephens, John D. (1989) 'Democratic Transition and Breakdown in Western Europe, 1870-1939: A Test of the Moore Thesis', *American Journal of Sociology* 94(5):1019-1077.

Stephens, John D. (1993) 'Capitalist Development and Democracy: Empirical Research on the Social Origins of Democracy', in David Copp, Jean Hampton and John E. Roemer (ed.), *The Idea of Democracy.* New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 409-446.

Stiglitz, Joseph E. (1996) 'Some Lessons from the East Asian Miracle', *The World Bank Research Observer* 11(2):151-177.

Stimp, Joseph (1997) 'Growing up Malay in Singapore', *Asian Journal of Social Science* 25(2):117-138.

Stockton, David (1990) *The Classical Athenian Democracy.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Stoler, Ann Laura (2002) 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance', *Archival Science* 2:87-109.

Storm, Lise (2008) 'An Elemental Definition of Democracy and its Advantages for Comparing Political Regime Types', *Democratization* 15(2):215-229.

Strand, Håvard, Hegre, Håvard, Gates, Scott and Dahl, Marianne (2012) *Democratic Waves? Global Patterns of Democratization, 1816-2008.* 3rd International Conference on Democracy as Idea and Practice, Oslo, 12-13 January 2012. Retrieved at http://www.uio.no/english/research/interfaculty-research-areas/democracy/news-and-events/events/conferences/2012/papers-2012/Strand-Hegre-Gates-Dahl-wshop7.pdf on 22 June 2016.

Subrahmanyam, Gita (2006) 'Ruling Continuities: Colonial Rule, Social Forces and Path Dependence in British India and Africa', *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 44(1):84-117.

Svolik, Milan (2008) 'Authoritarian Reversals and Democratic Consolidation', *American Political Science Review* 102(2):153-168.

Svolik, Milan (2009) 'Power sharing and leadership dynamics in authoritarian regimes', *American Journal of Political Science* 53(2):477-94.

Sznajder, Mario (1996) 'Transition in South America: Models of Limited Democracy', *Democratization* 3(3):360-370.

Tan, Eugene K. N. (2003) 'Re-engaging Chineseness: Political, Economic and Cultural Imperatives of Nation-building in Singapore', *The China Quarterly* 175:751-774.

Tan, Kevin Yew Lee (1989) 'The Evolution of Singapore's Modern Constitution: Developments from 1945 to the Present Day', *Singapore Academy of Law Journal* 1:1-28. Retrieved at http://www.sal.org.sg/digitallibrary/Lists/SAL%20Journal/Attachments/2/1989-1-SAcLJ-001-Tan.pdf on 15 October 2015.

Tan, Netina (2013) 'Manipulating Electoral Laws in Singapore', *Electoral Studies* 32:632-643.

Tan, Tai-Yong (2007) 'Port Cities and Hinterlands: A Comparative Study of Singapore and Calcutta', *Political Geography* 26:851-865.

Tang, James T. H. (1999) 'Introduction: Hong Kong after the Reversion: In Search of a Post-Colonial Order', *Journal of Contemporary China* 8(20):5-8.

Tansey, Oisín (2010) 'Does Democracy Need Sovereignty?', *Review of International Studies* 37:1515-1536.

Tansey, Oisín (2016) 'The Problem with Autocracy Promotion', *Democratization* 23(1):141-163.

Tarrow, Sidney (1967) *Peasant Communism in Southern Italy.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Tarrow, Sidney (2010) 'The Strategy of Paired Comparison: Toward A Theory of Practice', *Comparative Political Studies* 43(2):230-259.

Teorell, Jan (2010) *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972 – 2006.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Teorell, Jan and Hadenius, Axel (2006) 'Democracy without Democratic Values: A Rejoinder to Welzel and Inglehart', *Studies in Comparative International Development* 41(3):95-111.

Terry, Sarah M. (1993) 'Thinking About Post-communist Transitions: How Different Are They?', *Slavic Review* 52(2):333-337.

The State Archives Administration of the People's Republic of China (2016) *The Official Website of The State Archives Administration*. Retrieved at http://www.saac.gov.cn/ on 10 September 2016.

The Wall Street Journal (2015) 'How 'Old Friend' Lee Kuan Yew Influenced China', *The Wall Street Journal* 23 May 2015. Retrieved at http://blogs.wsj.com/chinarealtime/2015/03/23/how-old-friend-lee-kuan-yew-influenced-china/ on 26 August 2016.

Therborn, Göran (1977) 'The Rule of Capital and the Rise of Democracy', *New Left Review* 103:3-41.

Thio, Li-ann (2007) 'Singapore: (S)electing the President - Diluting Democracy', *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 5(3):526-543.

Thomas, Jeffrey E. (2014) 'Rule of Law with Chinese Characteristics: An Empirical Cultural Perspective on China, Hong Kong and Singapore', *Asia Pacific Law Review* 22(2):115-148.

Thompson, Mark R. (2004) 'Pacific Asia After "Asian Values": Authoritarianism, Democracy, and "Good Governance"', *Third World Quarterly* 25(6):1079-1095.

Thompson, Mark R. (2012) 'Asia's Hybrid Dynasties', *Asian Affairs* 43(2):204-220.

Till, Robert (2010) 'Simulation of Intervention in Critical Incidents Using Agent Based Analysis', *Journal of Critical Incident Analysis* 1(1):17-29.

Tilly, Charles (1984). *Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons.* New York: Russell Sage.

Tilly, Charles (1997) 'Means and Ends of Comparison in Macrosociology', *Comparative Social Research* 16:43-53.

Tilly, Charles (2002) *Stories, Identities, and Political Change.* Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.

Tilly, Charles (2004). *Contention and Democracy in Europe, 1650-2000.* New York; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tilly, Charles (2007) *Democracy.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

TNA BW 146/2, *Representative's Handing-Over Notes*, 1951 – 1964.

TNA CAB 133/528, *Prime Minister's Visit to the Far East, 16-29 September 1982: Japan Briefs A1 - A17; China Briefs B1 - B23; Hong Kong Briefs C1 - C9*, 1982 Aug 19 - 1982 Sep 15.

TNA CO 1022/385, *Qualifications for Election to the Singapore Municipal Legislative Council*, 1952 – 1953.

TNA CO 1022/92, *Constitutional Development of Singapore: Proposed Increase in Number of Elected Members of the Legislative Council; Work of the Rendel Commission on Development of the Constitution*, 1953.

TNA CO 1030/101, *Self-government for Singapore and Malaya*, 1956.

TNA CO 1030/1300, *Future of Hong Kong*, 1960-1962.

TNA CO 1030/448, *Representations Made on Constitution of Singapore*, 1957 – 1959.

TNA CO 1030/79, *Singapore: Constitutional Development*, 1954 – 1955.

TNA CO 1030/80, *Singapore: Constitutional Development*, 1954 – 1955.

TNA CO 1030/82, *Singapore: Constitutional Development*, 1956.

TNA CO 1030/83, *Singapore: Constitutional Development*, 1956.

TNA CO 1030/85, *Singapore Legislative Council: Constitutional Instruments*, 1954 – 1955.

TNA CO 537/6045, *Hong Kong: Future Policy*, 1950.

TNA DO 35/6288, *Political and Constitutional Development in Singapore*, 1953 – 1955.

TNA DO 35/6289, *Political and Constitutional Development in Singapore*, 1955 – 1956.

TNA DO 35/9877, *Constitutional Development in Singapore*, 1958 – 1960.

TNA FCO 141/14429*, Singapore: Constitutional Development in the Federation of Malaya; Introduction of the Member System*, 1950 Jan 01 - 1953 Dec 31.

TNA FCO 141/14498, *Singapore: Formation of a Working Party to Examine the Question of Introducing the Member System into the Constitution of Singapore*, 1951 Jan 01 - 1956 Dec 31.

TNA FCO 141/14499, *Singapore: Documents in Use with the Working Party Dealing with the Introduction of the Member System into the Constitution of Singapore*, 1950 Jan 01 - 1952 Dec 31.

TNA FCO 141/14508, *Singapore: Committee to Consider Elections to the Federal Legislative Council and Future Constitutional Changes in the Federal Government*, 1953 Jan 01 - 1954 Dec 31.

TNA FCO 141/14914, *Singapore: Federation of Malaya; post Merdeka (Independence) Problems*, 1957 Jan 01 - 1958 Dec 31.

TNA FCO 141/15063, *Singapore: Constitutional Discussions, 1957*, 1956 Jan 01 - 1957 Dec 31.

TNA FCO 21/1023, *Paper on the Future of Hong Kong*, 1972 Jan 01-1972 Dec 31.

TNA FCO 40/265, *Long-term Study of Future of Hong Kong*, 1970 Jan 01-1970 Dec 31.

TNA FCO 40/424, *UK Policy on the Future of Hong Kong after 1997,* 1973 Jan 01 - 1973 Dec 31.

TNA FCO 40/77, *Future Sovereignty of Hong Kong: Defence Review Working Party Long-term Study*, 1967 Jan 01-1967 Dec 31.

TNA FCO 40/78, *Future Sovereignty of Hong Kong: Defence Review Working Party Long-term Study*, 1967 Jan 01-1967 Dec 31.

TNA FCO 40/79, *Future Sovereignty of Hong Kong: Defence Review Working Party Long-term Study*, 1968 Jan 01-1968 Dec 31.

TNA FCO 40/911, *Future of the Dependent Territories*, 1978 Jan 01 - 1978 Dec 31.

TNA FO 1091/41, *Singapore: Constitutional Development*, 1956.

TNA FO 1091/44, *Singapore: Constitutional Development*, 1956.

TNA PREM 13/1833, *SINGAPORE. Repercussions of Singapore's Independence*, Sept 1965-Sept 1967.

TNA PREM 15/1328, *Visit to UK of Mr Chi Peng-Fei, Chinese Foreign Minister: Records of Meeting with Prime Minister, 8 June 1973*, 1972 Dec 28 - 1973 Jun 21.

TNA PREM 16/1533, *CHINA. Visit to UK by Li Ch'iang, Minister of Foreign Trade: Meeting with* Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics *Prime Minister*, 1977 Oct 27 - 1978 Jan 30.

TNA PREM 16/1534, *CHINA. Visit to UK by Huang Hua, Foreign Minister: Meeting with Prime Minister*, 1978 Sep 06 - 1978 Oct 12.

TNA PREM 19/1053, *HONG KONG. Future of Hong Kong; Part 4*, 1982 Nov 08 - 1983 Feb 16.

TNA PREM 19/1054, *HONG KONG. Future of Hong Kong; Part 5*, 1983 Feb 17 - 1983 Apr 19.

TNA PREM 19/1055, *HONG KONG. Future of Hong Kong; Part 6*, 1983 Apr 20 - 1983 Jun 30.

TNA PREM 19/1056, *HONG KONG. Future of Hong Kong; Part 7*, 1983 Jul 01 - 1983 Aug 31.

TNA PREM 19/1057, *HONG KONG. Future of Hong Kong; Part 8*, 1983 Sep 01 - 1983 Sep 30.

TNA PREM 19/1059, *HONG KONG. Future of Hong Kong; Part 10*, 1983 Nov 01 - 1983 Dec 30.

TNA PREM 19/1262, *HONG KONG. Future of Hong Kong; Part 11*, 1984 Jan 03 - 1984 Jan 31.

TNA PREM 19/1263, *HONG KONG. Future of Hong Kong; Part 12*, 1984 Feb 01 - 1984 Mar 30.

TNA PREM 19/1264, *HONG KONG. Future of Hong Kong; Part 13*, 1984 Apr 02 - 1984 Apr 30.

TNA PREM 19/1265, *HONG KONG. Future of Hong Kong; Part 14*, 1984 May 01 - 1984 Jun 30.

TNA PREM 19/789, *HONG KONG. Future of Hong Kong; Part 1*, 1979 Jun 05 - 1982 Sep 08.

TNA PREM 19/790, *HONG KONG. Future of Hong Kong; Part 2*, 1982 Sep 08 - 1982 Oct 05.

TNA PREM 19/792, *HONG KONG. Future of Hong Kong: Prime Minister's visit to China; Special Briefing 1982*, Sep 06 - 1982 Sep 23.

TNA T 236/4274, *Future of Hong Kong*, 1949 – 1957.

TNA T 442/52, *Study of the future of Hong Kong*, 1982 Jan 01 - 1982 Dec 31.

Tolstrup, Jakob (2013) 'When Can External Actors Influence Democratization? Leverage, Linkages, and Gatekeeper Elites', *Democratization* 20(4):716-742.

Torfason, Magnus Thor and Ingram, Paul (2010) 'The Global Rise of Democracy: A Network Account', *American Sociological Review* 75(3):355-377.

Trejo, Gullermo (2014) 'The Ballot and the Street: An Electoral Theory of Social Protest in Autocracies', *Perspectives on Politics* 12(2):332-352.

Tremewan, Christopher (1994) *The Political Economy of Social Control in Singapore.* Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Trocki, Carl A. (2006) *Singapore: Wealth, Power and the Culture of Control*. New York: Routledge.

Tsang, Steve Yui-Sang. (2004). *A Modern History of Hong Kong.* London; New York: I.B. Tauris.

Tudor, Maya (2013) 'Explaining Democracy's Origins: Lessons from South Asia', *Comparative Politics* 45(3):253-272.

Turnbull, C. M. (1989) *A History of Singapore: 1819-1988 (2nd edition)*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Tusalem, Rollin F. (2009) 'The Role of Protestantism in Democratic Consolidation Among Transitional States', *Comparative Political Studies* 42(7):882-915.

Tusalem, Rollin F. (2015) 'Democracies, Autocracies, and Political Stability', *International Social Science Review* 90(1):1-40.

Twinn, Sheila (2003) 'Status of Mixed Method Research in Nursing', in Abbas Tashakkori and Charles Teddlie (ed.), *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social & Behavioral Research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Pp. 541-556.

Uhlin, Anders (1995) 'The Struggle for Democracy in Indonesia: An Actor-Structure Approach', *Scandinavian Political Studies* 18(3):133-158.

Ulfelder, Jay (2007) 'Natural-Resource Wealth and the Survival of Autocracy', *Comparative Political Studies* 40(8):995-1018.

Ulfelder, Jay (2008) 'International Integration and Democratization: An Event History Analysis', *Democratization* 15(2):272-296.

Ulfelder, Jay and Lustik, Michael (2007) 'Modelling Transitions To and From Democracy', *Democratization* 14(3):351-387.

Ungpakorn, Giles (2007) *A Coup for the Rich. Thailand's Political Crisis.* Bangkok: Workers Democracy Publishing.

United Nations Development Programme (2015) *Human Development Report 2015: Work for Human Development.* Retrieved at http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/corporate/HDR/HDR%202015/HumanDevelopmentReport_EN.pdf on 2 February 2016.

Useem, Michael (1984) *The Inner Circle.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Van Evera, Stephen (1997) *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Vanhanen, Tatu (2000) 'A New Dataset for Measuring Democracy, 1810 – 1998', *Journal of Peace Research* 37(2):251-265.

V-Dem Institute (2016) *V-Dem Data.* Retrieved at https://www.v-dem.net on 5 August 2016.

Veenendal, Wouter P. and Corbett, Jack (2015) 'Why Small States Offer Important Answers to Large Questions', *Comparative Political Studies* 48(4):527-549.

Vennesson, Pascal (2008) 'Case Studies and Process Tracing: Theories and Practices', in Donatella della Porta and Michael Keating (ed.), *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A Pluralists Perspective.* Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 223-239.

Villalón. Leonardo A. (2015) 'Cautious Democrats: Religious Actors and Democratization Processes in Senegal', *Politics and Religion* 8:305-333.

Vogel, Ezra F. (1991) *The Four Little Dragons: The Spread of Industrialization in East Asia.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Voller, Vaniv (2015) 'Contested Sovereignty as an Opportunity: Understanding Democratic Transitions in Unrecognized States', *Democratization* 22(4):610-630.

Von Soest, Christian (2015) 'Democracy Prevention: The International Collaboration of Authoritarian Regimes', *European Journal of Political Research* 54:623-638.

Wade, Robert (1990) *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Wade, Robert (1993) 'The Visible Hand: The State and East Asia's Economic Growth', *Current History* 92(578):431-440.

Wade, Robert (1998) 'The Asian Crisis and the Global Economy: Causes, Consequences, and Cure', Current History 97(622):361-373.

Wade, Robert (2000) 'Wheels within Wheels: Rethinking the Asian Crisis and the Asian Model', Annual Reviews of Political Science 3(1):85-115.

Wahman, Michael, Teorell, Jan and Hadenius, Axel (2013) 'Authoritarian Regime Types Revisited: Updated Data in Comparative Perspective', *Contemporary Politics* 19(1):19-34.

Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice (1974) Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-economy in the Sixteenth Century. San Diego, California: Academic Press.

Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice (2000) 'Globalization or the Age of Transition? A Long-term View of the Trajectory of the World System', International Sociology 15(2):251-267.

Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice (2004) 'World-systems Analysis', in George Modelski (ed.), In World System History. EOLSS and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Retrieved at http://www.eolss.net/ebooks/sample%20chapters/c04/e6-94-01.pdf on 27 September 2016.

Wang, James C. F. (1994) *Comparative Asian Politics: Power, Policy, and Change*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Wang, Jun (2012) 'The Developmental State in the Global Hegemony of Neoliberalism: A New Strategy for Public Housing in Singapore', *Cities* 29(6):369-378.

Wantchekon, Leonard (2002) 'Why Do Resource Abundant Countries Have Authoritarian Governments?', *Journal of African Development* 5(2):145-176.

Weber, Max (1954) *Max Weber on Law in Economy and Society* (ed. Max Rheinstein). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Weiner, Myron (1967) *Party Building in a New Nation.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Welsh, Helga A. (1994) 'Political Transition Processes in Central and Eastern Europe', *Comparative Politics* 26(4):379-394.

Welzel, Christian (2006) 'Democratization as an Emancipative Process: The Neglected Role of Mass Motivations', *European Journal of Political Research* 45(6):871-896.

Welzel, Christian and Inglehart, Ronald (2006) 'Emancipative Values and Democracy: Response to Hadenius and Teorell', *Studies in Comparative International Development* 41(3):74-94.

Welzel, Christian and Inglehart, Ronald (2008) 'The Role of Ordinary People in Democratization', *Journal of Democracy* 19(1):126-140.

White, David (2013) 'Taking it to the Streets: Raising the Costs of Electoral Authoritarianism in Russia', *Perspectives on European Politics & Society* 14(4):582-598.

Wiarda, Howard J. (2001) 'Southern Europe Eastern Europe, and Comparative Politics: "Transitology" and the Need for New Theory', *East European Politics & Societies* 15(3):485-501.

Wigell, Mikael (2008) 'Mapping 'Hybrid Regimes': Regime Types and Concepts in Comparative Politics', *Democratization* 15(2):230-250.

Wight, Martin (1952) *British Colonial Constitutions, 1947*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Williams, David Lay (2014) *Rousseau's Social Contract: An Introduction.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wilson, James Lindley (2011) 'Deliberation, Democracy, and the Rule of Reason in Aristotle's Politics', *American Political Science Review* 105(2):259-274.

Wilson, Sven E. and Butler, Daniel M. (2007) 'A Lot More to Do: The Sensitivity of Time-Series Cross Section Analyses to Simple Alternative Specifications', *Political Analysis* 15:101-123.

Wittfogel, Karl August (1957) *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Wong, Mathew Y. H. (2015) 'Party Models in a Hybrid Regime: Hong Kong 2007-2012', *China Review* 15(1):67-94.

Wong, Stan Hok-Wui (2014) 'Resource Disparity and Multi-Level Elections in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes: Regression Discontinuity Evidence from Hong Kong', *Electoral Studies* 33:200-219.

Wood, E. J. (2002). *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. New York and Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Wooldridge, Jeffrey M. (2002) *Econometric Analysis of Cross Section and Panel Data.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

World Bank (1993) *The East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public Policy.* New York: Oxford University Press.

World Bank (2012) *World Development Indicator*. Retrieved at http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators on 13 March 2013.

Wright, Joseph (2008) 'Do Authoritarian Institutions Constrain? How Legislatures Affect Economic Growth and Investment', *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2):322-343.

Wright, Joseph and Escribà-Folch, Abel (2011) 'Authoritarian Institutions and Regime Survival: Transitions to Democracy and Subsequent Autocracy', *British Journal of Political Science* 42(2):283-309.

Wullert, Katherine and Williamson, John B. (2016) 'Democracy, Hybrid Regimes, and Infant Mortality: A Cross-National Analysis of Sub-Saharan African Nations', *Social Science Quarterly* 97(5):1058-1069.

Yang, Yong, Roux, Ana V. Diez, Auchinocloss, Amy H., Rodriguez, Daniel A. and Brown, Danial G. (2011) 'A Spatial Agent-Based Model for the Simulation of Adults' Daily Walking Within a City', *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 40(3):353-361.

Yap, S., Lim, R., Kam, L.W. (2010) *Men in White: the Untold Story of Singapore's Ruling Political Party.* Singapore: Singapore Press Holdings.

Yeo, Kim Wah (1973) *Political Development in Singapore, 1945–55.* Singapore: Singapore University Press.

Yi, Dae Jin (2012) 'No taxation, No democracy? Taxation, Income Inequality, and Democracy', *Journal of Economic Policy Reform* 15(2):71-92.

Yilmaz, Hakan (2002) 'External-Internal Linkages in Democratization: Developing an Open Model of Democratic Change', *Democratization* 9(2):67–84.

Yom, Sean (2015) 'From Methodology to Practice: Inductive Iteration in Comparative Research', *Comparative Political Studies* 48(5):616-644.

Young, Alwyn (1992) *A Tale of Two Cities: Factor Accumulation and Technical Change in Hong Kong and Singapore.* NBER Macroeconomics Annual *1992*, 7:13-64. Retrieved at http://papers.nber.org/books/blan92-1 on 19 May 2016.

Youngs, Richard (2015) 'Exploring "Non-Western Democracy", *Journal of Democracy* 26(4):140-154.

Zakaria, Fareed (1997) 'The Rise of Illiberal Democracy', *Foreign Affairs* 76(6):22-43.

Zhang, Baohui (1994) 'Corporatism, Totalitarianism, and Transitions to Democracy', *Comparative Political Studies* 27(1):108-136.